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THE LITERARY CAREER
OF
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

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THE LITERARY CAREER OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

by

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at Yale University*

Ay, of all the artists living, . . .
None but would forego his proper dowry,—
Does he paint? he fain would write a poem,—
Does he write? he fain would paint a picture,
Put to proof art alien to the artist's.

Browning's One Word More

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.

To
CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER
who
“may be said to have formed my mind,
and to have brushed off from it
a deal of rubbish.”

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Illustrations:

- Part of the *Eleventh Discourse*, in Sir Joshua's hand-writing, with corrections by Samuel Johnson . *facing* 135
- Part of fair copy of the *Fifteenth Discourse* in Mary Palmer's handwriting, corrected by Sir Joshua . *facing* 181



PREFACE

To write of the founder of the English school of painting, avoiding as far as possible any reference to his pictures, will undoubtedly provoke criticism. In Sir Joshua's day a prominent bishop remarked "that Mallet in his *Life of Bacon* had forgotten that he was a philosopher; and if he should write the *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, which he had undertaken to do, he would probably forget that he was a General".¹ Similar charges have been directed at several modern biographies of poets in which poetry receives but scant notice.

Were there no good books dealing with Sir Joshua's portraits and his career as an artist, such a study as this would be inexcusable. But the case is otherwise. In spite of minor inaccuracies, the biography by Leslie and Taylor, published in 1865, still remains the standard work on the subject. And there have been more than fifty other lives of the painter, of which those by Claude Phillips, Sir Walter Armstrong, and William B. Boulton are noteworthy. Whoever wishes to read of Reynolds the painter will have no difficulty in procuring the proper books.

The object of this study is to present but a single phase of Sir Joshua's life—a phase which though not the most important, nevertheless merits our attention. Bacon the

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 194.

courtier and Marlborough the politician are figures not without significance to students of their respective periods, and the literary aspirations and achievements of the first president of the Royal Academy shed additional light on the Johnsonian age. Sir Joshua as he appears in these pages is seen in his off-hours, out of his studio. He is the man, rather than the artist.

The book is based largely on Sir Joshua's manuscripts preserved in the Royal Academy, and it is with pleasure that I here acknowledge my indebtedness to the secretary, Mr W. R. M. Lamb, to the librarian, Mr Wright, and to the registrar, Mr Tanner, who have repeatedly shown themselves obliging and helpful. Mr W. Roberts, learning that I was interested in the handwriting of Charles Gill, a pupil of Sir Joshua's, generously gave me one of Gill's letters; the Dowager Lady Harcourt allowed me to view the Reynolds material at Nuneham, and her secretary, Miss Philip, sent me additional information of a bibliographical nature; Dr George Lauder Greenway put at my disposal his collation of Sir Joshua's *Discourses*; Dr Allen T. Hazen supplied me with important bibliographical notes; and the staffs of the British Museum, the Harvard College Library, and the Yale University Library have, as usual, greatly facilitated my researches. Among the many who have patiently answered my questions, I should mention Dr R. W. Chapman, Dr Robin Flower, and Prof. Frederick A. Pottle. I have adopted a number of suggestions offered by Dr L. F. Powell, who has read the work in manuscript. The index has been prepared by Mr P. B. Daghljan. I also wish to express my indebtedness to the American

Council of Learned Societies, from whom I received a generous grant which enabled me to undertake my investigations.

Throughout this study, when including transcripts from manuscripts or printed books, I have attempted to adhere scrupulously to the original, even in such details as spelling and punctuation. Hence what may seem to be a misprint in this book is in all probability an accurate transcript of the text to which reference is made. When giving references, I have normally mentioned the author's name, the title of the book, and the edition which I have used. But the following books have been drawn upon so extensively that I have adopted abbreviations for them:

Boswell's Life—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edited by G. B. Hill, revised and enlarged edition by L. F. Powell, in six volumes. Oxford, 1934. [References to volumes v and vi, not yet published, are to the original edition, Oxford, 1887.]

Boswell Papers—*Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle in the Collection of Lieut.-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham*. Prepared for the press by Geoffrey Scott and Frederick A. Pottle, in nineteen volumes. New York, 1929–1936.

Cotton's Gleanings—*Sir Joshua Reynolds, and His Works. Gleanings from his Diary, unpublished Manuscripts, and from other Sources*. By William Cotton. London, 1856.

Cotton's Notes—*Sir Joshua Reynolds' Notes and Observations on Pictures*, edited by William Cotton. London, 1859.

Farington's Diary—*The Farington Diary*, edited by James Greig, in eight volumes. London, 1922–1928.

Graves and Cronin—*A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.*, by Algernon Graves and William Vine Cronin, in four volumes. London, 1899-1901.

Johnsonian Miscellanies—*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, arranged and edited by G. B. Hill, in two volumes. Oxford, 1897.

Leslie and Taylor—*Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, commenced by Charles Robert Leslie, continued and concluded by Tom Taylor, in two volumes. London, 1865.

Letters—*Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, edited by F. W. Hilles. Cambridge, 1929.

Northcote—*The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, by James Northcote (the second edition, revised and augmented), in two volumes. London, 1818. [Some imprints give 1819, but the pagination is identical.]

Sir Joshua's Nephew—*Sir Joshua's Nephew*, edited by Susan M. Radcliffe. London, 1930.

Whitley—*Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, by W. T. Whitley, in two volumes. London & Boston, 1928.

Works—*The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds. . . To which is prefixed an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author*, by Edmond Malone (the second edition corrected), in three volumes. London, 1798.

Sir Joshua's pocket-books, which are frequently mentioned in the following pages, contain his social engagements and appointments for sitters. The volume for 1755, overlooked by Graves and Cronin, is in the Cottonian Collection in the Plymouth Museum. The Royal Academy possesses those for 1757-1762, 1764-1773, 1777, 1779-1782, 1784, 1786-1790.

F. W. H.



INTRODUCTION

“Sir Joshua is indeed sufficiently puffed up with the Credit he has acquired for his written Discourses, a Praise he is more pleased with than that he obtains by his Profession.” *Thraliana*.

In 1899 there was sold at auction a manuscript in the handwriting of Sir Joshua Reynolds, consisting of four lines:

Not only bounded to peculiar Arts,
But oft in those confined to single parts;
Like Kings we lose the conquest[s] gained before,
By vain ambition still to make them more.

History is silent as to why these lines were copied by the artist. That he was fond of Pope will not suffice as an explanation. Presumably he copied them because in them he found succinctly expressed what he himself had thought. The poet is arguing that

One science only will one genius fit;
So vast is art, so narrow human wit.¹

Why should this idea have particularly appealed to Sir Joshua?

When one wished to flatter Frederick the Great, he was praised not for his success on the field of battle nor for his powers of organization, but for his good taste in the fine arts or his abilities as a writer. “When Michael Angelo proposed to fortify his native city, Florence, and he was desired to keep to his painting and sculpture, he

¹ *Essay on Criticism*, i, 60 *et seq.* For Sir Joshua’s transcript see Sotheby’s catalogue for the sale held 18 February, 1899.

answered, that those were his recreations, but what he really understood was architecture."¹ Once when Dr Johnson, who thought hunting "no diversion at all", was riding on the downs near Brighton, one of the party shouted: "Why Johnson rides as well, for aught I see, as the most illiterate fellow in England." Mrs Piozzi, who related the anecdote, thought that "no praise ever went so close to his heart".²

Instances of this human trait could be multiplied without much difficulty, but for our purposes one other should be mentioned. After he had achieved fame as an actor, John Kemble wrote some verses which he intended to dedicate to Sir Joshua. After reading them to him, he asked for an opinion, and Reynolds, little impressed, tried to extricate himself from an embarrassing position by remarking: "I can scarcely pass my judgment on the poem; you have read it so extraordinary well, that perhaps any poetry so read would appear fine." Anything but pleased with this comment, the actor resolved to address his verses to someone else. "To compliment any man on those particular talents which the world has acknowledged he possesses", adds the canny Northcote, from whom the story derives, "is to him but faint praise, especially when he pants for fame in another department; as it has been observed of Cardinal Richlieu, that those who wished to gain his favour succeeded best when they pretended to be enraptured with his poetry, and said nothing of his political powers."³

In his day Sir Joshua was considered by some people as the greatest painter of all time, and throughout his life he was passionately devoted to his profession; but to be thought nothing but a painter dissatisfied him. Re-

¹ Hazlitt's *Conversations of James Northcote*, London, 1830, 90 *et seq.*

² *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, i, 288.

³ *Northcote*, ii, 243. The incident is recorded also in *Farington's Diary* (vi, 80).

peatedly he indicated his contempt for the man who was a painter and nothing more. And he practised what he preached. When he was out of his studio, he associated not with painters but with men of letters. His closest friends were those whose careers were literary, and in their society he was filled with a desire to emulate them. As a result he is said to have left at his death at least two thousand manuscript pages¹—essays for periodicals, criticism on art for his *Discourses*, notes on Shakespeare for his friends Johnson, Malone, or Steevens, a *jeu d'esprit* illustrating with all Boswell's skill Dr Johnson's powers of conversation, a sort of *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* occasioned by his quarrel with the Academy, fragmentary thoughts on the French Revolution, and biographical sketches of some of his friends. By profession a painter, his ambition, particularly near the end of his life, was to be considered an equally proficient writer. He had that not unnatural dislike of being "bounded to peculiar Arts".

In a measure this ambition of his was realized. Dedicating *The Deserted Village* to him in 1770, Goldsmith wrote: "You can gain nothing from my admiration, as I am ignorant of that art in which you are said to excel, and I may lose much by the severity of your judgment, as few have a juster taste in poetry than you." Twenty-two years before his death, then, Sir Joshua was proclaimed in public as a literary critic. In 1791 Boswell, dedicating his *magnum opus* to him, could say, "in perfect confidence of not being accused of flattery": "Your excellence, not only in the Art over which you have long presided with unrivalled fame, but also in Philosophy and elegant Literature, is well known to the present, and will continue to be the admiration of future ages." Had Boswell omitted the reference to philosophy and elegant literature, Sir Joshua could hardly have derived as much

¹ Cotton's *Gleanings*, 208.

pleasure from the dedication. A few weeks after the *Life of Johnson* appeared in print, Sir Joshua significantly remarked: "A man is most successfully flattered by being supposed to possess virtues to which he has the least pretensions."¹

Certainly Sir Joshua was thus flattered on many occasions. In the British Museum are manuscript verses written in 1777 at the Bedford Coffee House, Covent Garden, entitled *On the transcendent Merit of SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS President of the royal Academy of Painting as a Writer, and a Painter.*² They are perhaps worth printing here because they are typical of the praise generally accorded him at the time.

*Learn'd in two Languages*³ had long been thought
The highest Compliment that cou'd be wrought
To praise Mæcenæ Patron of the Muse⁴;
Horace' Authority who'd dare refuse?—
A greater Ornament can England boast;
Pronounce Ye Critics, who excels the most—
REYNOLDS th'APELLES of our modern Days,
Shines forth superior, tho in different ways;
Has of *two* Arts attain'd the lawrel'd Heights;
Paints with a Pen, and with a Pencil Writes!

This effusion may have been inspired by the fact that Sir Joshua was then preparing to publish in one volume his first seven discourses. On these and the remaining discourses his fame as a writer was based. Because of them a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* felt justified in applying to him the phrase "Scriptor multo elegantissimus"; because of them a prominent physician of the day could write: "nobody will ever bear away the palm from him, as an elegant writer on the art he pro-

¹ *Letters*, 222.

² Add. MSS. 36,596, f. 208.

³ Footnote in MS.: *doctus utriusque Linguae.*

⁴ Footnote in MS.: *Musis Amicus.*

fessed." One of his most pronounced enemies could speak of his "literary, I might say, classical talents", and a clergyman of the day could write: "His language is as simple as just; and as beautifully varied as his outline; and as free from coarseness and false glare as his colouring;—he writes like a philosopher as well as an artist".¹

That he valued this reputation is certain. After the first volume of the *Life of Johnson* had been set up in print, Boswell was forced to cancel a page because in it he had hinted that the *Dedication to the King*, prefixed to Sir Joshua's *Discourses*, was written by Johnson. Although the dedication is characteristically Johnsonian, Sir Joshua shrank from admitting to the world that he had not written it himself. There seems to be but one possible interpretation of such an action.

Even while the discourses were being composed there were whisperings to the effect that a mere painter of portraits, a man who had none of the advantages of education which Oxford or Cambridge supplied, could never have written the polished lectures which were delivered every year or two in the Academy. It was common knowledge that Sir Joshua painted in his studio from nine until five, making the most of the daylight, leaving his work only to attend a sale of pictures or prints. It was equally well known that his evenings were spent in society, at one of his many clubs or at a *conversazione* presided over by Mrs Montagu, Mrs Vesey, or Miss Monckton. A man who was thus occupied, it must be confessed, had little time for reading or writing. Hence the suspicion arose that the *Discourses*, admittedly excellent of their kind, were composed not by their avowed author, but by someone else. And in this case, since his closest friends were Johnson and Burke, the *Discourses*

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxiii, 1, 415; *The Works of James Barry*, London, 1809, i, 281, 556; John Williams's *Authentic History of the Professors of Painting*, etc., London, 1796, 16 n.

were generally considered to be the work of the one or the other.

Had he allowed Boswell to write "stet" on the page which was cancelled, Sir Joshua might well have increased rather than lessened his literary reputation. Boswell had written that Johnson was the author of the dedication of Percy's *Reliques of ancient English Poetry*. "It should not be wondered at", he had continued, "that one who can himself write so well as Dr. Percy, should accept of a Dedication from Johnson's pen; for as Sir Joshua Reynolds, who we shall afterwards see accepted of the same kind of assistance, well observed to me, 'Writing a dedication is a knack. It is like writing an advertisement'."¹ The revised passage is worth quoting, showing as it does that Boswell was well aware of Sir Joshua's reasoning. "Some of these, the persons who were favoured with them are unwilling should be mentioned, from a too anxious apprehension, as I think, that they might be suspected of having received larger assistance".² Had Reynolds been willing to confess that he had not written the dedication, many of the sceptics would have been silenced, for it is there more than anywhere else that the hand of the Great Cham is noticeable. By attempting to conceal this fact, Sir Joshua furnished his detractors with an argument which though fallacious was nevertheless convincing to many.

One other example may be given to show Sir Joshua's unwillingness to admit that he had been helped by his friend. While composing one of his later discourses, he wrote:

May I . . . mention as an instance of the truth of what I have remarked, the very Discourses which I have had the honour of delivering from this place. Whatever merit they have, must be imputed, in a great measure, to the education which I may be said to have had under Dr. Johnson. I do not mean to say,

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 555 *et seq.*

² *Id.* ii, 2.

though it certainly would be to the credit of these Discourses, if I could say it with truth, that he contributed even a single sentiment to them; but he qualified my mind to think justly.¹

This passage, which Malone printed in order to prove that Johnson had written none of the *Discourses*, was suppressed by Sir Joshua, as if the admission that he had been thus educated would outweigh the positive declaration that he had not received a single sentiment from his master.

Such was Sir Joshua's policy, which in itself should be sufficient proof that he wished to be thought a man of letters. Browning tells us but a half truth when he asserts that it was to honour their ladies that Dante and Raphael "put to proof art alien to the artist's". Tradition has it that Hogarth tried his hand at sculpture, but it was not for love that he did this; it was for a wager. At the same time and for the same reason his friend Roubiliac is said to have painted a picture.² In Sir Joshua's case the desire for literary fame was merely the normal ambition common to mankind—the desire to be considered no mere craftsman with a narrowed vision, but a cultured gentleman, eminent in more than one field. In spite of Pope, in erring reason's spite, he sought to free himself from the bounds of his peculiar art.

And it would have given him no little satisfaction to have been told that in the course of the century and a half immediately following his death, his *Discourses* were to be reprinted on an average of once every three years. He would have been pleased to know that almost as much space is accorded him in the *Oxford Book of English Prose* as to his contemporaries who devoted their lives to writing. He would have felt, to use his own phrase, a

¹ *Works*, i, xxix et seq. Probably written when revising the twelfth discourse.

² *Whitley*, i, 92.

“self-congratulation” in knowing that fifteen years after his death a group of gentlemen were discussing various styles of writing

and after much had been said, it was allowed by all present that Sir Joshua Reynolds, in His Lectures, wrote with more purity & simplicity than any other modern writer, & might for the excellence of His style in that respect be compared with Addison;—having clearness, ease, and no affectation.¹

¹ Farington's *Diary*, iv, 173. Malone characterized Sir Joshua's style as “perspicuous, elegant, and nervous”. (*Works*, i, xliii.)



CHAPTER I

EDUCATION

"I remember it used to be a continual subject of Discourse of my Fathers when he discoursed of Education not to be in too great a hurry to show oneself to the world but to lay in first as strong foundation as possible first of knowledge & learning."

Florentine sketch-book.

Scribbled in pencil on the fly-leaf of a vellum-bound notebook in the British Museum is the singularly awkward sentence printed above. The writing is that of Joshua Reynolds, then twenty-seven years old and an eager student of painting in Italy. The misspelling, the clumsy phraseology, the deference to authority, the grain of common sense which it contains are eminently characteristic of him. But the excerpt has been quoted for another reason. It is almost the only sentence extant in which he comments on the education he received.

Samuel Reynolds, whose discourses on education made a lasting impression on his distinguished son, was a thoroughly lovable character. The son of a Vicar of Exeter, he had resided in Oxford for thirteen years, where he was a scholar of Corpus and later a fellow of Balliol. Here he counted among his friends at least two men who later became prominent in literary circles. One of these, as has often been pointed out, was the gentle Edward Young, author of *Night Thoughts*. The other was that amazing quack, George Psalmanaazaar, who had been sent to Oxford to teach the "Formosan" language (his own invention) to prospective missionaries. Samuel Reynolds must have been impressed with

the religiosity of this "Japanese", and his unusually gullible nature would have prevented him from seeing through the tricks of the impostor.¹

Leaving Oxford in 1711 in order to marry, Samuel was offered a living worth £700 a year, which his brother John persuaded him to refuse, "because", said he, "Sam would not like the situation of the Living, it was too much in the World".² Consequently he took his bride to Plympton, in Devonshire, where he became Master of the Grammar School. One of his grand-daughters was to write that he "had no knowledge of the World, or value of money. I have heard my Mother say that if he wished for an expensive book he always purchased it, altho' he could so ill afford it." We know from the published fragments of his letters that these books usually pertained to medicine and metaphysics, but he devoured as well political pamphlets, sermons of his friend Dr Mudge, and the poetry of Pope. A man of marked scholarly interests, he was famous in his district for his absent-mindedness. Once, when proceeding on horseback to the home of a neighbour, he lost a gambado, a sort of riding-boot. When his attention was called to this, "Bless me!" said he, "it is very true, but I am sure that I had them both when I set out from home."³

His guilelessness and his eccentricities caused him to be likened to Parson Adams, and many a story has been handed down which stresses his peculiarities. But as so

¹ This friendship is brought to light in two letters written in 1705 and 1706 by Psalmanaazaar to Reynolds. The first of these is in the collection of Prof. Chauncey Brewster Tinker; the second is in my possession.

² This and similar extracts are from the MS. commonplace book of Mary Johnson, which was kindly lent to me by her descendant, Miss Susan M. Radcliffe, editor of *Sir Joshua's Nephew*. Letters of Samuel Reynolds are published in Cotton's *Gleanings* (43-62) and in *Leslie and Taylor* (i, 15-28, 467-9). Copies of these letters are among the Reynolds MSS. in the Royal Academy.

³ *Northcote*, i, 25.

often happens with eccentric people, he is represented as having been more erratic than in all probability he was. Mr Boulton, for example, in what is the best brief biography of Sir Joshua, is guilty of several Macaulayisms when dealing with his subject's father. "He would give away his last half-guinea to 'Bamfylde Moore Carew, King of the Gypsies', . . . He dipped into medicine and anatomy, and would produce skulls to illustrate his researches at the lectures which he gave to his children on those subjects."¹ The use of "would" suggests that these actions were habitual with him. In the source these statements are less sweeping. Sir Joshua's sister Elizabeth remembered her father *once* "giving to the famous (gipsy) Bamflyde [*sic*] Carew half a guinea, which was (her Mother said) all the money they had in the world. He was a learned man & at times would call in his children into his study & give them lectures on different subjects, once she remembered the lecture was on a human skull which he had procured for the purpose."

Like many another in his profession, he was the author of a number of tracts on diverse subjects. We know that he wrote on the gout, and that he was the author as well of a Theological Chronology. But his writings have disappeared. Some of his sayings, however, have been preserved, which show him to have had his share of worldly wisdom. "If you take too much care of yourself, Nature will cease to take care of you" is a sample. Another—"The great principle of being happy in this world is, not to mind or be affected with small things"—was preached and practised in later years by his famous son.² And although Joshua was to write that he had never put much faith in the efficacy of precepts, much of his philosophy of life may be traced directly to the teachings of his father.

¹ W. B. Boulton's *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1905, 5 *et seq.*

² *Leslie and Taylor*, i, 7 n. Cf. *Letters*, 55.

In one respect father and son differed decidedly. Samuel, having no worldly ambition, lived a happy life dabbling in astrology, anatomy, theology, philosophy, pharmacology, and various other -ologies and -osophies dear to the heart of a scholar. The son was interested in such subjects, but subordinated what he felt was of less importance to his own development. Years later, while conversing with his pupil Northcote, Sir Joshua remarked: "He who would arrive at eminence in his profession should confine his whole attention to that alone, and not do as many very sensible men have done, who spend their time in acquiring a smattering and general kind of knowledge of every science, by which their powers become so much divided, that they were not masters of any one." "That", said Northcote hastily, "is exactly my own father." "And it was mine also", replied Reynolds.¹

Nevertheless, the fact that Samuel's tastes were so catholic had a wholesome effect upon his children and must have been at least partly responsible for Mary's *Devonshire Dialogue*, for Fanny's untiring attempts at writing and painting, and for Joshua's leanings towards philosophic speculation. In later years Sir Joshua was fond of discussing "the Advantages of Early Habits", and, thanks to his father, he early formed the habit of studious industry.

His formal education was limited to the narrow curriculum of the Plympton Grammar School. Some traces are still in evidence of his progress in the classics. An exercise "De Labore" is in the Royal Academy, and one of his collateral descendants is the possessor of a well-thumbed and annotated copy of Ovid, inscribed "Joshua Reynolds, begun in the 2nd book, at *vix equidem fauces haec ipsa in verba resolvo*". According to Tom Taylor, "Its fly-leaves are written over with notes about Bacchus,

¹ *Northcote*, ii, 50.

Ino, Semele, and Harmonia, 'the Destinies, and such branches of learning'; . . . There is an elaborate etymological note, too, on the derivation of 'Ileon or Ileum', transcribed, probably, from some lexicon, and including some well-formed Greek characters."¹

But the major part of his education he acquired outside of school. In his father's library the boy found at least four books which influenced him in choosing his profession. At the age of eight, we are told, he happened to pick up a copy of the *Jesuit's Perspective*, a book which he found on the window-seat in the parlour. This "he read with great avidity and pleasure", and much to his father's astonishment he soon proved that he had digested it as well.² We are also told that he used to copy Dutch engravings from Jacob Cats's *Book of Emblems*, two large folios which Samuel had inherited from his mother. Another book on painting, which later found its way into Joshua's own library, was Félibien's *Tent of Darius Explained*, an English translation by one William Parsons, inscribed "Samuel Reynolds è Plympton" and later autographed by Joshua.³ But the volume which, the painter told Dr Johnson, influenced him the most at this time was Jonathan Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, a work that must have stimulated the boy to pick up other books which the schoolmaster, "altho' he could so ill afford it", was in the habit of buying.⁴ According to Richardson, a painter must know the history "of all ages and all nations", he must be a poet as well, and he must "understand Anatomy, Osteology, Geometry, Perspective, Architecture, and many other

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 162 n. A brief historical sketch of the school is given in Cotton's *Some Account of . . . Plympton*, London, 1859.

² *Works*, i, vii.

³ *Library of the Fine Arts*, London, 1831, i, 41 *et seq.*

⁴ Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Hill, Oxford, 1905, i, 2. Cotton (*Gleanings*, 35-41) prints pertinent passages from Richardson.

sciences which the Historian or Poet has little occasion to know".

With Richardson as an inspiration the boy entered upon a course of reading which makes absurd the imputation that he received an inferior sort of education. His father encouraged him by presenting him with a commonplace book in which he entered extracts from many of the books he read. Tom Taylor notes that the great majority of these extracts "indicate a decided turn for the calm, sensible, equable, and kindly, in life and manners. The extracts are (on life and morals) from Theophrastus, Plutarch, Seneca, Marcus Antoninus; (on criticism and for poetry) Pope (a great favourite, especially in his letters), Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, the 'Spectator' and 'Tatler', Cats's 'Book of Emblems', and even Afra Behn; (in art) Leonardo da Vinci, Du Fresnoy, and Richardson; and (in religious matters) Nelson and the Bible, Ecclesiasticus chiefly."¹ Years later Sir Joshua was to write that

Isaiah was allways my favorite Book of the old Testament, from having often read it, I had retained a great part of it by heart without any such intention at the time, but remembered it in the same manner and for the same reason I did Miltons Paradise lost, which I never should have done if either of them had been in Prose.²

The extracts from Plutarch undoubtedly derived from the translation attributed to Dryden, for Sir Joshua told Malone that as a child he used to copy the prints which illustrated this edition of the *Lives*.³ The *Tatler* he seems to have read in its original form. Presumably his father had subscribed to it when at Oxford and had caused the single leaves to be bound up together in one large folio. In any case such a volume, autographed by Sir Joshua, was sold at Sotheby's 31 July, 1929.

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, i, 467.

² *Letters*, 65.

³ *Works*, i, vii.

Enough has been presented to suggest that Joshua's education had not entirely been neglected. But in a discussion of this sort one other influence on him must be mentioned. According to Edmund Burke, Reynolds himself attributed his love of generalizing to his contact with Zachariah Mudge, one of his father's friends. Burke wrote to Malone that Sir Joshua's "acquaintance with the Mudges ought to be reckoned among the earliest of his literary connexions", and in notes which he drew up for Malone shortly before his death he supplemented this statement with the following fragment:

I believe his early acquaintance with Mr. Mudge, of Exeter, a very learned & thinking [man] & much inclined to Philosophy in the spirit of the Platonists, disposed him to this habit [of generalizing]. He certainly by that means liberalised in an high degree the Theory of his own Art; & if he had been more methodically instructed in the early part of his life, if he had possessed more leisure for Study & reflexion, he would, in my opinion, have pursued this method with great success.¹

This passage is important not only because it indicates the source of Joshua's early love of abstractions, but also because, in the opinion of Burke, his early tuition lacked method. The same charge is made by James Northcote.

Young Reynolds is said to have been for some time instructed in the classics by his father, who was very assiduous in cultivating the minds of his children; but as it is known that the son did not display any proofs of classical attainments in the earlier part of his life, it is most probable that the mass of general knowledge, by which he was at a later period so eminently distinguished, was the result of much studious application in his riper years.²

The verdict seems to be, then, that although the boy was not a brilliant scholar and was not as methodically instructed as he might have been, he received from his

¹ Inaccurately printed in *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 638 n. The originals of Burke's letter and notes are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Forster Collection, F. 48. D. 2, folios 22 *et seq.*).

² *Northcote*, i, 9 *et seq.*

studious father and his father's studious friends an education which must have made up in breadth what it lacked in depth. We may safely assume that when he went up to London at the age of seventeen to learn the art of painting, he was at least more cultured than the average boy of his age.

It is unlikely that "young Reynolds" spent much of his time over books while in London. Indeed, judging from what he later preached to his pupils, he must have occupied himself almost entirely with his brush and palette. We know that his master, Thomas Hudson, introduced him to a club made up of the most eminent artists in England. We know that when not in such society he associated with the not-yet-infamous John Wilkes and kindred spirits who lived in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's Inn Fields, a society not conducive to study. And when he returned to Devonshire on his father's death and settled in Plymouth, he was not, according to his own story, occupied in self-improvement. "When he recollected this period of his life", wrote Malone, "he always spoke of it as so much time thrown away, (so far as related to a knowledge of the world and of mankind,) of which he ever afterwards lamented the loss."¹

Fortunately this lethargy was soon dispelled. In May, 1749, when he was in his twenty-sixth year, he sailed with Keppel to the Mediterranean, stopping en route at Cadiz, Lisbon, and "Gibraltar", seeing "bull feasts", a procession of Corpus Christi, and a civilization which must have been particularly fascinating to a young man who had passed his entire life in Devonshire and London. While on the ship he spent much of his time reading, making use of the Commodore's well-chosen library.² At length, on the 23rd of August he arrived at Port Mahon on the island of Minorca, where Keppel left him.

¹ *Works*, i, ix et seq.

² *Letters*, 5, 7.

Here he remained for five months as the guest of General Blakeney, who was in command of the English garrison on the island. Recently I have acquired a sheet of reading notes in Reynolds's hand, which for the first time enables us to determine definitely the duration of his visit. Along the margin of the first page he has recorded: "Jan 25th 1750 we sat out from Mahon."¹ Because of this annotation it is probable that the extracts on this sheet of writing-paper were the result of reading done while in Minorca or perhaps while sailing from Port Mahon to Italy. The writing is identical with that in the letters he sent at this time to Miss Weston.

And what was it that he was reading? Not *Roderick Random*, *Clarissa*, *Tom Jones*, any of which he might have secured before leaving England. These the serious-minded young painter would have considered at this period of his life a waste of time. Novels, he thought, gave the reader "very little real knowledge of life".² He was intent upon educating himself, and the notes he took are for that reason, if for no other, worth examining. They indicate that he was reading the letters of the younger Pliny—not in Latin, but in Melmoth's translation, which had been published four years earlier. Many of the extracts are nothing more than word-for-word transcriptions of Melmoth's notes. Years later, when Sir Joshua was entertaining a number of his distinguished friends at dinner, Gibbon praised this translation, "which he thought better than the original, for all that was valuable was preserved, without his quaintness. Burke agreed, and said that Pliny was very ostentatious and made the most of all the taste and all the virtue he had."³ Boswell, the recorder, is silent as to their host's

¹ He has altered "sat out" to "saild". The reading notes are printed in full in Appendix I (*post*, pp. 201 *et seq.*).

² *Post*, pp. 151 *et seq.*

³ *Boswell Papers*, xvii, 94.

opinion, but one wonders whether Sir Joshua's thoughts did not turn to the voyage he had made as a young man.

The many biographers of Reynolds have nothing to say of his literary education in Italy. An unpublished commonplace book in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York throws some light on this phase of his life. It was kept by Reynolds in 1752, at the end of his Italian tour. Among the memoranda on the inside of the back cover appears a note to "Bye a Virgil". On the first page there is a sentence which may serve as a key to his character at this time: "to look more like a man of some Business and consequence no dangler nor Idler". The book as a whole is filled with notes on the pictures he was seeing, a modified sort of diary, and extracts from books he was reading. Most of these extracts are from Shaftesbury's *Letter Concerning Enthusiasm*,¹ part of which he has translated into Italian. At the same time he seems to have been translating into what might be called English a part of some Italian translation of *Don Quixote*. Such at least is the inference to be drawn from the following passage, which is short enough to be included here:

C[id Hamete Benengeli] relates in this most great most high lofty, little sweet and imagin'd history that after that the great D[on] Q[uijote] and S[ancho] P[anzo] his squire made these discourses [*supra*, thus discoursd] that which we have related in Chapt 21 D.Q. lifted his eyes, and saw in the road where they went to come about a Dozen men afoot tyed [about the neck, *crossed out*] together by the neck like paternosters in a great chain of Iron and the hands bound in strait hand cuffs, there came likewise with them two on horsback and two others afoot

Such extracts may not prove that Joshua was "a man of some Business and consequence" throughout his sojourn of three years in Italy, but at least they indicate that he was making an honest effort to be "no dangler

¹ They are printed in full in Appendix I (*post*, pp. 203 *et seq.*).

nor Idler". A reference to Vasari in his Bolognese notebook¹ suggests another of the books he was perusing at the time, and in the same volume there is mention of expenses incurred "at the Library". Unlike many of the young bloods of his day, Reynolds obviously looked upon the Grand Tour as playing an essential part in his career, and because the impetus came from within himself, the education he received was no doubt far better than the more conventional sort given to his contemporaries. "Few have been taught to any purpose, who have not been their own teachers. We prefer those instructions which we have given ourselves, from our affection to the instructor; and they are more effectual, from being received into the mind at the very time when it is most open and eager to receive them."² So he wrote some twenty years later, and the observation must have been based on his own experience. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we may assume that when Joshua was not occupied with his art, he was diligently striving while in Italy "to lay in first as strong foundation as possible first of knowledge & learning".

¹ In the Soane Museum. Cf. *Leslie and Taylor*, i, 470. Sir Joshua's edition of Vasari's *Lives* was published at Bologna (*post*, p. 120, n. 2).

² *Works*, i, 37 *et seq.*



CHAPTER II

AT THE FEET OF HIS ORACLE

"He may be said to have formed my mind, and to have brushed off from it a deal of rubbish."

Sir Joshua's character sketch of Dr Johnson.

Reynolds returned to England in October, 1752, and before establishing himself in his apartments in St Martin's Lane spent three months with his family and friends in Devonshire. While there he had an experience which was destined to have no little influence on his later career. Chancing to pick up a volume written by an author unknown to him, he "began to read it while he was standing with his arm leaning against a chimney-piece. It seized his attention so strongly, that, not being able to lay down the book till he had finished it, when he attempted to move, he found his arm totally benumbed."¹ The little book which proved to be so engrossing was called *An Account of the Life of Mr Richard Savage, Son of the Earl Rivers*. The author's name did not appear on the title-page.

Some time after settling in London, and while paying a call on the daughters of Admiral Cotterell, the young painter had the pleasure of meeting this author, who thenceforth became his closest and most respected friend.² The influence that Samuel Johnson had on his

¹ Boswell's *Life*, i, 165.

² Boswell (*Life*, i, 244) records this meeting under the year 1752; Frances Reynolds (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 294) accuses him of antedating this "by at least five years"; Taylor (*Leslie and Taylor*, i, 118 n.) proves that the earliest possible date is 1753; Northcote (i, 69)

circle can hardly be overestimated, but on Reynolds in particular this influence is most marked. They were seen together on all occasions. One of their eminent friends, noting this, referred to Johnson as Reynolds's "oracle".¹ With this phrase in mind it is important to remember that the initiative was taken by the elder of the two, whose visits were so frequent and so prolonged that on one occasion the ambitious young painter decided to put an end to their intercourse. Finding Johnson waiting to see him, he abruptly left the house, without so much as an apology. In spite of this, Johnson continued to call, and they were soon inseparable.

What was it that the great Rambler saw in his young friend which led him to persevere after such a rebuff? "If a man does not make new acquaintance as he advances through life, he will soon find himself alone: a man, Sir, should keep his friendship in constant repair."² This was his own explanation to Reynolds, but it is not entirely satisfactory. What was it that attracted him particularly to this young man from Devonshire, rather than to others? Most assuredly it was not an interest in painting. Though he had many opportunities, Johnson never showed the slightest appreciation of the arts, and there is good reason to believe that Reynolds seldom talked about his work. One of Sir Joshua's commentaries on

places Boswell's account under the year 1754. All of these authorities were writing long after the event, and the only one of them to have been acquainted with the fact at first hand was Frances Reynolds. It is therefore worth noting that the earliest extant record of their meeting is to be found in Reynolds's pocket-book for 1757 (25 January), when he was painting the so-called "1756" portrait which was later given to Boswell. The pocket-book for 1756 has not survived. In that of 1755 there is no mention of Johnson's name. On this slender evidence I am inclined to date the meeting 1756. After Johnson's death in 1784 Sir Joshua referred to their "thirty years' intimacy", which would suggest a date very near 1755. *Cf. post*, p. 161.

¹ Gibbon's *Memoirs*, ed. Hill, London, 1900, 143.

² *Northcote*, i, 82.

society, as reported by Northcote, was "A man is a pedant who, having been brought up among books, is able to talk of nothing else. The same of a soldier, lawyer, painter, &c."¹ The samples of his conversation recorded by Boswell and Fanny Burney indicate that he wished to be no pedant. He won Johnson's respect at their first meeting by an observation on human nature which was considered worthy of Rochefoucauld. His mind, trained by Zachariah Mudge to view things in the abstract, was just the sort to appeal to men of the eighteenth century. "When Foote has told me something," said Johnson, "I dismiss it from my mind like a passing shadow; when Reynolds tells me something, I consider myself as possessed of an idea the more."²

Obviously, however, Reynolds might with equal truth have made the same remark about Johnson. Once the friendship was established the painter's intellectual development was assured. His natural inclination for philosophical speculation was increased; his mental horizon was enlarged by introductions to men of note in the literary world. The turbulent Italian, Giuseppe Baretti, the enthusiastic young Oxford scholar, Bennet Langton, the studious Joseph Warton were introduced to him at about this time, and probably by Johnson. It was certainly Johnson who took him to call upon the most widely read of authors, Samuel Richardson, warning him beforehand that it would be politic to "expatiate on the excellencies of his *Clarissa*". We are not told what took place at the meeting, but Reynolds later said that the man had little conversation, except about his own works, of which "he was always willing to talk, and glad to have them introduced"—a remark which recalls the observation on pedantry.³

In 1755 a group of painters drew up plans for the

¹ *Northcote* ii, 56.

² *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, i, 225.

³ *Boswell's Life*, iv, 28.

formation of an Academy, plans which were later used when the Royal Academy was founded. These were printed with an introduction and distributed among the members of the Society of Dilettanti in the hope that such noblemen would give them their support. The committee of painters, headed by Hayman, included among others Reynolds, his master Hudson, and his associates Roubiliac, Astley, Pine, and Dalton. Tom Taylor has proposed and Mr Boulton has seconded the idea that the author of the introduction was Reynolds. The theory is based partly on the similarity between sentiments here expressed and those in the *Discourses*, partly on the fact that it "is marked by that generalisation which Burke considered the peculiar characteristic of Reynolds".¹ Admittedly he is as apt to have written it as any of the artists, although one of the committee was John Gwynn, who published a number of things with and without the "friendly assistance" of Johnson, and had in 1749 proposed in print the establishment of an academy.²

Whether or not Reynolds had a hand in composing this pamphlet, his first acknowledged attempt at writing was made in 1759, and this new departure can be directly attributed to his association with Dr Johnson. *Idler* no. 76, which appeared on 29 September, dealt with the ridiculous presumption of connoisseurs who endeavoured to judge pictures according to rules which they had drawn up. The author of this letter was Mr Reynolds. In his pocket-book for the night of 29 September the newly-fledged writer has entered this engagement: "Mr. Johnson & Mr. Clark to dinner." Who Mr Clark was

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, i, 131.

² Whoever wrote the pamphlet was a reader of the *Rambler*. Ponderous words and balanced sentences characterize the author's style and cause one to wonder whether he had submitted his manuscript to Johnson before publishing it. It will be remembered that in 1760 Johnson wrote the *Address of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects to George III on his Accession to the Throne*. Cf. *post*, p. 24.

is a matter for speculation. A man of that name appears in the pocket-book for 1757, possibly as a sitter, and he may have been that "learned and ingenious Mr. Thomas Clark of Lincoln's Inn" who was one of Johnson's intimates at this period of his life.¹ On such an evening the painter may have been guilty of what he termed pedantry. Some remarks relative to false criticism of pictures must have been passed at the dinner.

This paper Reynolds followed with two others, nos. 79 and 82, which were published on 20 October and 10 November. The first of these in later editions of the *Idler* was entitled the "Grand Style of Painting" and the other "The True Idea of Beauty". Although published at intervals of three weeks, they may, if Northcote is correct, have been written at one time. It is more probable, however, that the biographer was thinking of one of them only. "I have heard Reynolds say", he wrote, "that Johnson required them from him on a sudden emergency, and on that account he sat up the whole night to complete them in time; and by it he was so much disordered, that it produced a vertigo in his head."² This is one of the two contemporary comments that concern the composition of these papers, the other being Boswell's, on Sir Joshua's authority, that Johnson's share in the writing was limited to the final six words in the third paper.³ The painter "must, by regarding minute particularities and accidental discriminations, deviate from the universal rule, and pollute his canvass with deformity".

Recent investigation has thrown a certain amount of additional light on the composition of these letters. Dr Greenway argues convincingly that *Idler* no. 76 was written with Jonathan Richardson in mind and that in discussing "the flowing line" and "the pyramidal principle"

¹ Courtney's *Bibliography of Johnson*, Oxford, 1915, 133.

² *Northcote*, i, 89.

³ Boswell's *Life*, i, 330.

Reynolds was slyly alluding to Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, published in 1753. He also points out the general similarity between *Idler* no. 82 and *Spectator* no. 412.¹ The late Charles S. Peete, following Prof. Thompson, had previously indicated a parallel between a passage in this essay (contrasting European and Ethiopian ideas of beauty) and a paragraph from Buffier's *La Doctrine du Sens Commun*.² This particular paragraph of Buffier's, however, was the subject of extended comment by Adam Smith in his *Theory of Moral Sentiment*, which had been published just before Reynolds wrote his paper, and, as Dr Greenway has shown,³ Reynolds certainly drew much of his material from Smith. One other striking parallel in this *Idler* has been noted. Sir Joshua, we have seen, confessed that the final six words were added by Johnson. Peete called attention to the fact that the final sentence as a whole is merely a paraphrase of Imlac's dissertation upon poetry in *Rasselas*, which Johnson had written and published in the preceding April.⁴ In writing his letters to the *Idler*, then, Reynolds seems to have drawn not only on theorists of painting like Richardson and Hogarth, but on Adam Smith and Johnson as well.

According to Northcote Reynolds "committed to paper a variety of remarks on the occasion, which afterwards served him as hints for his discourses".⁵ The biographer then fills seven pages with excerpts from "those unfinished memoranda", most of which he found in a commonplace book that is now in my possession. From internal evidence it must have been kept by

¹ G. L. Greenway's *Some Predecessors of Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Criticism of the Fine Arts* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale, 1930), 31, 115.

² C. S. Peete's *Sir Joshua Reynolds, Writer and Theorist* (unpublished master's thesis, Yale, 1921), 120; E. N. S. Thompson, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxxii (1917), 361.

³ *Op. cit.* 230.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 122.

⁵ *Northcote*, i, 89.

Reynolds late in this particular decade,¹ and to it he seems to have turned for ideas when composing his *Idler* papers. Certainly there are striking parallels between passages in the second and third papers and the manuscript. In the commonplace book, when discussing Michelangelo, he writes that

he carried his Idea beyond what nature would bear so that some times you dont know whether such a figure is in the greatest degree of sublimity or extremely ridiculous,² women & those who judge like women never fail of pronouncing it the latter.

witness his statue of Moses the Prophets & Sibils in the Vatican, he hated tameness & insipidity and in order to give Character enou[gh] he almost lost sight of human nature the[y] are beings superior to our[s] they are like the Ideas that homer raises in you when he describes his demigods

¹ Reynolds's comments on Liotard (*Northcote*, i, 60) appear in this book. Liotard, who grew a long beard and adopted the Levantine dress after a visit to Constantinople, enjoyed considerable success as a painter in England from 1753 to 1755. Since he spent the next seventeen years on the continent, the reference to him suggests an approximate date for the other entries in the book. Only a portion of the remarks about Liotard was printed by Northcote. Immediately after the passage there printed is the following: "those who are not capable of judging for themselves I think might smell something of the Quack from his appearance the long beard [and] Turk's dress which as wel[l as] his behaviour is of [the] very essence of Imposture. a few nights ago some Italians talking about Liotard of the Great Success he met with in England in comparison of what he did in France, one of them opening his Eye with one of his fingers says Gli Fracesi hanno gli occhi aperti, the French have their eyes open and can see through imposture. with much more good humour than I fear I have shown in this Letter they begun to ridicule him, one ask'd what punishment might be due to any one who should by any means cut off his beard since twould deprive him of his support, another said he was like Samson his strength lay in his hair." The phrase "in this Letter", towards the end, shows that this was a rough draft of a letter, probably to one of his relatives. Such a draft in the Florentine note-book is printed by Leslie and Taylor (i, 58), and the beginning of a letter to one of his brothers is drafted in the similar volume for 1752 in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

² Reynolds found this idea in Pope's notes to the *Iliad*. Cf. *post*, Appendix I, p. 213.

With this compare the following from *Idler* no. 79:

It has been thought, and I believe with reason, that Michael Angelo sometimes transgressed those limits; and I think I have seen figures by him, of which it was very difficult to determine, whether they were in the highest degree sublime or extremely ridiculous. Such faults may be said to be the ebullition, of Genius; but at least he had this merit, that he never was insipid; and whatever passion his works may excite, they will always escape contempt.

What I have had under consideration is the sublimest style, particularly that of Michael Angelo, the Homer of Painting. Other kinds may admit of this naturalness, which of the lowest kind is the chief merit; but in Painting, as in Poetry, the highest style has the least of common nature.

In the essay as printed there is but one more paragraph, which ends with a word of advice "to the Connoisseurs, that when they see a cat or a fiddle painted so finely, that, as the phrase is, *it looks as if you could take it up*, they would not for that reason immediately compare the Painter to Raffaello and Michael Angelo". The passage which Reynolds italicized appears twice in the commonplace book.

There is no internal evidence to indicate how much time elapsed before such entries were revised for publication, but some at least seem to have been written at the very time in question. The following, for example, must be the rough draft for the beginning of *Idler* no. 82:

I shall begin this with what will appear a Paradox to prove that beauty is arbitrary as well as agreeableness, tis a general receivd notion that bea[u]ty does not depend in the Idea alone but that there is a fixt thing it is something more real & positive & that every body has a standard to judge by wher[e]as agreeableness is arbitrary and every one judges according to his own Ideas or fancy, I dont doubt of convincing that it is so only through prejudice, I shall begin with giving you my definition of beauty Beauty is the medium or center of what is seen this

will need some explanation.¹ was there a certain and fixt and invariable rule of proportion for beauty we should be as much offended at a figure drawn contrary to that rule as we are at a dissonance in Musick the harmony of which depends not upon us but is such as Nature has in such a manner fixt and establish'd that tis impossible to depart from it without offending the very organs of hearing was it thus in respect to beauty we should find figures contrary condemn'd by universal consent. as did our eye as naturally judge of beauty as our Ear does of musick there would never be any dispute whether a figure is handsom[e] or not any more than there is among Musicians about the truth of Consonance like the fashion, things are beautiful because we have been used to them [more] than we are to [what is] ugly how ask you "are we more used to beauty than we are to ugliness you seem to be of a contrary opinion to the sculptors & Painters who when they have to draw a beautifull woman for instance find it impossible to find it in one person and are forced to have recourse to the expedient of taking a face from on[e] an arm from another a neck from another," I answer tis true you seldom or never see a whole figure perfect or scarce a whole limb so but I will venter to affirm that fix upon any particular feature or part of a figure

The passage breaks off at this point, and was probably never finished.

A final parallel remains to be mentioned. In *Idler* no. 82 there is the following passage, clearly based on Adam Smith:

Every species of the animal as well as the vegetable creation may be said to have a fixed or determinate form, towards which Nature is continually inclining, like various lines terminating in the center; or it may be compared to pendulums vibrating in

¹ Cf. *Idler* no. 82 (*Works*, ii, 242): "From what has been said, it may be inferred, that . . . in creatures of the same species, beauty is the medium or centre of all its various forms." This is the passage which presumably derives from Smith's *Moral Sentiments*: "in the human form the beauty of each feature lies in a certain middle, equally removed from a variety of other forms that are ugly. . . . In the same manner, in each species of creatures, what is most beautiful bears the strongest characters of the general fabric of the species" (ed. Stewart, London, 1861, 286 *et seq.*). According to Northcote, Reynolds adopted this idea from Zachariah Mudge (*Hazlitt's Conversations of James Northcote*, London, 1830, 86).

different directions over one central point: and as they all cross the center, though only one passes through any other point, so it will be found that perfect beauty is oftner produced by nature than deformity.

Note towards the end of the sentence the spelling of "oftner". In later editions of the *Idler* this has been corrected, but the word is so spelt in the commonplace book, and on the same page where this is found begins the following: "tast[e] does not come by chance tis a long & laborious task you like a Pendulum must waver this way and that way before you fix from in the centre." It is reasonable to suppose, then, that Reynolds jotted down his first thoughts in his commonplace book and referred to them when he was engaged in writing the letters for the *Idler*.

The papers were written at Johnson's request. Northcote remarks that at this time "Johnson was under many obligations, as well as those literary ones, to Reynolds, whose generous kindness would never permit his friends to ask a pecuniary favour;—his purse and heart being always open".¹ The comment sheds light on such entries in the pocket-book for this year as that under date of 9 July: "£96 to Johnson". It will be remembered that Johnson's mother died in this year and that *Rasselas* was written to defray the expenses of her funeral. Needless to say, the painter was not reimbursed for his initial literary venture.

Nor did the general public know that these papers were written by Mr Reynolds. When the first collected edition of the *Idler* was published in October, 1761, Johnson acknowledged that some of the letters, which he specified by numbers, had been contributed by friends, but he mentioned no names. At the same time, while this edition was in the press, he contrived to have the three papers by Reynolds struck off separately with an altera-

¹ Northcote, i, 85 et seq.

tion in the pagination and signatures and with the omission of the date and number of each article, thus forming a duodecimo pamphlet of a single gathering. On the title-page was the simple heading: "Three Letters to *The Idler*." A very precious copy of this leaflet is now in the possession of Dr D. Nichol Smith of Oxford. It was presented by Johnson to Reynolds, who in turn gave it to Malone in 1789. In his Johnsonian bibliography¹ Courtney erred in considering this the only copy printed. At least one other is in existence. It is to be found bound up with a number of other pamphlets in the Yale University Library, endorsed in a contemporary hand: "By Sir Josuah Reynolds."²

Before the *Idlers* had been collected, those written by Reynolds had been reprinted in the *London Chronicle*. In the issue for 12-14 May, 1761, they were combined into one article, which was entitled: "A letter on Painting, first published in the weekly paper called *The Idler*." In order to run the three essays together the last paragraph of the first and the initial paragraph of the second were omitted. Similarly the first two paragraphs of the third were altered. Otherwise, except for the omission of several words, which may have occurred through the carelessness of the type-setter, the original articles remained unchanged. The name of the author was withheld, but Reynolds no doubt felt a "self-congratulation" in observing that his first effort in a literary way had been considered worth reprinting.

Encouraged by the success of his letters on painting, he tried his hand at a more imaginative sort of essay. His plan was to write as though he were the wife of a man who

¹ W. P. Courtney's *Bibliography of Johnson*, Oxford, 1915, 80.

² The inscription recalls the letter one of Sir Joshua's nephews wrote his young sister when he was in London: "I am glad that you are improv'd in your writing . . . and should have been as glad if you had been improv'd enough in your spelling to have spelt *Joshua* right on the direction of my letter." *Sir Joshua's Nephew*, 157 *et seq.*

though witty in company was in private the dullest of companions. Two unfinished versions of such an essay survive. There is nothing in either which gives a clue to the date of composition, but the form suggests the *Idlers*, and it is therefore possible that they were written at about this time. The two versions were seen by Leslie when he was writing his life of Reynolds. What he endeavoured to do was to combine the two, giving extracts first from the one and then from the other, although he makes no such admission.¹ One of the two, the longer but the more incomplete, is now in the possession of Lady Charnwood, who has published it in full in the description of her collection.² The other, probably a first draft, is in the British Museum, and consists of but two folio pages. Lady Charnwood's is merely an expansion of the first half, and hence in her manuscript the point of the essay is lost. We are told that her copy contains many corrections and erasures. This is equally true of that in the British Museum, which is here printed. In reproducing it I have thought it unnecessary to indicate the variant readings and have felt free not only to select those which render the paper more intelligible, but to normalize the punctuation.

Sir,

I am a very young married woman, and my Husband is an eminent Witt. I do not mean that he is eminent as a Scholar, but he is extremely lively in company and is allowed to say more good things than anybody, or rather used to say them, for since I have been married he appears the dullest man I ever knew. He used to be invited to my Father's house as the fiddle³ of the company, and indeed our table conversation I thought but dull when he was not one of the party; by degrees from wishing for his company and from the relief which he allways gave from the dull matter of fact which was the conversation when he was not

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, i, 246 *et seq.*

² *An Autograph Collection*, London, 1930, 132.

³ O.E.D.: "One to whose music others dance; hence, a mirth-maker, jester."

present, and let me add from his apparent partiality to me as I thought from his allways looking to me for my approbation when he thought he had said a good thing, I begun to feel something that was very much like love, an uneasiness at his absence; indeed I begun to think how happy would that woman be who lived in the same house and heard every day so much wit and agreeable conversation. In short notwithstanding the inequality of our age, our ranks, of everything, and totally against the advice of my parents and friends, we married. I thought I acted the part of a heroine in preferring sense, mind, to personal accomplishments and every other external consideration.

That I do not absolute repent is certain; yet it is as certain that my husband is not the man I took him for. I would not insinuate that he wants understanding, good nature, or is a bad man in any respect, but he is the dullest creature I ever knew; he talks of knews and of family affairs as insipidly, as clear of all wit and imagination, and is as great a mopus in his own family when we haven't company as my poor old father or any other honest plain gentleman.

Now my question to you is this, whether you do not think my husband do not in some measure come under the denomination of a swindler from his having procured a very agreeable wife with a very good fortune, upon false pretences.¹

At the foot of the page, evidently with the idea of working it into the body of the essay, unless indeed it was to stand at the head as a sort of motto, he has misquoted one of Falstaff's remarks, writing from memory: "not only witty but the cause of wit in others".

Although three of his essays had appeared in print, Reynolds still lacked confidence in his ability to write. In 1762 the Society of Artists desired a preface for the catalogue of their exhibition, in which an apology should be made for charging admission. Mr Whitley has discovered in the minutes of the Society for 20 April the following entry: "Mr. Reynolds having presented a preface it was agreed to and ordered to be printed." On this he bases his argument that the preface was written not by Johnson, to whom it has always been ascribed,

¹ Add. MSS. 33,964, f. 208.

but by Reynolds. This attribution has been challenged, and in my opinion successfully challenged, by Dr Powell, who writes:

I have powerful allies. They are:—(1) The Editor of the Supplement to Johnson's Works (Vol. xiv), published in 1788, four years before the death of Reynolds; (2) Boswell, whose friendship for Reynolds was so deep that he dedicated his great 'Life' to him. His consent to the admission of a work to the Johnsonian canon was not easily obtained; (3) Malone, who was Reynolds's executor, the vindicator of his fame as an author, and the editor of his literary works. Malone, moreover, saw Boswell's 'Life' in all its stages and, after Boswell's death, became its editor. He was therefore in the unique position of being able to assign the piece to its real author. He did not take it away from Johnson; (4) Northcote, Reynolds's assistant and biographer. He prints the Preface, but is careful to add that it was 'written by Dr. Johnson'.

Those who are most familiar with Johnson's inimitable style accept the piece as his. I mean Birkbeck Hill, Professor Nichol Smith, and Dr. R. W. Chapman; if it were necessary for me to add my own opinion I should say that no one else but the Devil could have written it.¹

Mr Whitley argues that Johnson, knowing nothing about the affairs of artists, would have been incapable of writing the piece. The answer seems to be obvious. Before writing it he would naturally consult with Reynolds as to what he was desired to say.

By this time Mr Joshua Reynolds of Leicester Fields was generally regarded as the outstanding English artist. Such recognition brought with it not only a greater number of sitters but an increasing list of social obligations. His diary for the period is filled with such entries

¹ Whitley, i, 179; *The Times*, 1934, 22 Jan. (p. 13 e); 5 Feb. (p. 8 b); 14 Feb. (p. 8 a); 27 Feb. (p. 10 c). To Dr Powell's arguments should be added another, supplied to me by my colleague, Dr A. T. Hazen. The preface was included by Tom Davies, close friend of Johnson and Reynolds, in his Johnsonian collection, *Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces*, 1773.

as "cards", "Vauxhall", "Ball 6 o'clock Crown & Anchor", "Ranelagh", "Company at 6", etc. But though he was always fond of balls and whist, he was fonder of a society which was less frivolous. In 1761 the enthusiastic young antiquary, Thomas Percy, had introduced Goldsmith, "Auth. of y^e present state of polite Literature in Europe", to Johnson. About the same time both Percy and Goldsmith met Reynolds, probably through Johnson, who also brought that somewhat ponderous magistrate and man of letters, John Hawkins, into the circle. It then occurred to Reynolds that Johnson's love of talking would be fostered if these men and a few others were to form themselves into a club. The original conception "he started to Dr. Johnson at his own fireside."¹ He suggested the idea to another brilliant young writer, Edmund Burke, editor of the *Annual Register*, who must have attracted his attention first in 1751, when the treatise *On the Sublime and Beautiful* was published. Burke approved, and the Club—a specific name was considered an admission of its being commonplace—was thus organized in 1764. Outsiders, notably the Queen of the Bluestockings, called their society the Literary Club, since a love of literature was the common interest which bound them together. It is significant, then, that the initiative in organizing this now famous group was taken by Mr Reynolds, and that the members were drawn to the founder not because he was a painter, but because he shared with them such *enthusiasm* (he himself had used this word favourably in one of the *Idlers*) for literature.

This enthusiasm was revealed soon after the founding of the Club. In 1756 Johnson had published proposals for an edition of Shakespeare, promising that the work would be completed before the end of the following year. Subscriptions were sent to him, but the task remained

¹ Prior's *Life of Malone*, London, 1860, 434.

unfinished. Satirical Churchill, christening him Pomposo, wrote:

He for *subscribers* baits his hook
And takes their cash—but where's the book?

It is conceivable that the book might never have come out if it had not been for the goads administered by Johnson's circle, but the edition finally made its appearance a year after the Club had been organized. In the last of the eight volumes were incorporated many notes written by his friends. Only three members of the Club, Burke, Nugent, and Beauclerk, failed to contribute, and Beauclerk was definitely losing interest in the group at this time.

As a critic of Shakespeare, Reynolds cannot be said to have distinguished himself. Johnson included five of his notes, of which Northcote prints the three concerning *Othello*.¹ The two which Northcote omitted are short enough to be inserted here as samples of the painter's criticism. One of these was not written out, but was communicated verbally. In the final scene of *The Merry Wives*, Falstaff turns on his persecutors, saying: "Divide me like a bribe-buck, each a haunch; I will keep my sides to myself, my shoulders for the fellow of this walk, and my horns I bequeath your husbands." Johnson's comment to this was: "Who the *fellow* is, or why he keeps his shoulders for him, I do not understand." In the appendix he adds: "Mr. *Reynolds* is of opinion that by the fellow of this walk is meant *Herne the Hunter*." In subsequent editions this note is omitted, because scholars more familiar with Elizabethan literature were able to give the proper interpretation to the phrase.

The other note which Northcote omits was reprinted in many editions, but is of importance only because it

¹ *Northcote*, i, 146 *et seq.*

was Sir Joshua's observation. It is extremely characteristic. Ophelia, making her first appearance after going insane, sings:

How should I your true love know,
From another one?
By his cockle hat and staff,
And by his sandal shoon.

"There is no part of this play", comments our critic, "in its representation on the stage, [that] is more pathetic than this scene, which, I suppose, proceeds from the utter insensibility she has to her own misfortune." Then in a new paragraph follows the generalization which was to have been expected from him: "A great sensibility, or none at all, seem to produce the same effect; in the latter, the audience supply what she wants, and in the former, they sympathise."

It may have been at this time, when Johnson printed three of his notes to *Othello*, that Reynolds wrote a fourth. Since it was not published until a century later, the date of composition cannot be accurately fixed. When *Othello* describes his courtship, he refers to his

travel's history:
Wherein of antres vast, and desarts idle, . . .
It was my hint to speak.

Considering *idle* a corruption of *wild*, Pope printed the phrase *desarts wild*, which elicited this comment from Theobald: "I don't know whether Mr. Pope has observed it, but I know that Shakespeare, especially in descriptions, is fond of using the more uncommon word in a poetic latitude." Reynolds took Theobald's idea and expanded it as follows:

whatever is expressd in Common words colloquial language is never nor can be forcibly expressd to the imagination, indeed a very little reflection will shew this ever must be the case; the mode of expression which you hear every day and on every

occasion, must in its own natur[e] be feeble that is from its frequency [must] have lost the power of touching and affecting us

To express an immense space of uncultivated country, to call it 'a waste desert', excites no particular impression of its being not used for the advantage of man, for no other reason but because it is a common expression. Its beauty and excellence is lost in its familiarity. But when Shakespear, instead of 'deserts waste' calls them 'deserts idle', he immediately excites a fresh [idea]... of their being useless to mankind... Does not wit likewise often consist in using the second word,—not that which first occurs, and has been worn out?¹

His interest in Shakespeare, as we shall see, continued throughout his life. In his letters, in the *Discourses*, in random notes still preserved among his manuscripts, there are frequent quotations from the plays. Many an hour he spent at the theatre in seeing the Othello of Barry, the Lady Macbeth of Mrs Yates or Mrs Siddons, the Beatrice of Mrs Abington, the Lear, Mercutio, or Hamlet of Garrick.² He was on terms of intimacy with the outstanding Shakespearian editors of his time, not only with Johnson and Malone, but with Dr Farmer, George Steevens, and Isaac Reed. Like the other saner members of his society, he refrained from going to

¹ The first paragraph is from a photographic illustration facing page 186 of Sir Walter Armstrong's *Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.* (London, 1900). The manuscript was said to be in the National Gallery, Ireland, but I have been unable to trace its present whereabouts. I have therefore been forced to use Leslie's inaccurate transcript (i, 245) for the second paragraph.

² A note in the commonplace book from which so many extracts have already been made indicates that his love for the theatre had developed soon after he had settled in London. He had written: "I thought once that a Painters judgement of Painting was to be as much depended on [as] a jeweller about a diamond or precious stone but alas they are as much judge[s] of Painting as Players are of Plays they each act mechanically by rote." To this he added the following note: "I will except two Players and I wish I could as many P[ainters] Mr. G & Mrs. C." I assume he refers to Garrick and Mrs Cibber, although he might have had Kitty Clive in mind.

Garrick's Stratford Jubilee, but was somewhat connected with it the following year when his admirer, friend, and most faithful humble servant, George Colman, dedicated to him his farce, *Man and Wife; or the Shakespeare Jubilee*. We know that he was fond of Shakespearian discussions and disquisitions, provoking one of Johnson's caustic retorts by praising Mrs Montagu's *Essay*,¹ but there were times when he felt such conversation out of place. When he accompanied Garrick and others to Lord Mansfield's on behalf of the imprisoned Baretta, "his lordship, without paying much attention to the business, immediately and abruptly began with some very flimsy and boyish observations on the contested passage in *Othello*, 'Put out the light', &c. This was by way of showing off to Garrick, whose opinion of him however was not much raised by this impotent and untimely endeavour to shine on a subject with which he was little acquainted. Sir J. Reynolds, who had never seen him before... was grievously disappointed in finding this *great lawyer* so *little* at the same time."²

That Reynolds had read widely in Shakespeare is proved by the commonplace book in my possession. Twenty pages are filled with passages which appealed to him for one reason or another. Most of the extracts are from *Troilus and Cressida*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Much Ado*, *As You Like It*, and *Henry VIII*. But he also quotes from *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Titus Andronicus*. His edition must have been that brought out in 1733 by Theobald, since he transcribes the quotation from Tibullus, which in that edition only is appended to Juliet's "At lover's perjuries they say Jove laughs". He also writes "Sleep seal those pretty eyes" (*Troilus and Cressida*, iv, 2), which is Theobald's

¹ Boswell's *Life*, ii, 88.

² Prior's *Life of Malone*, London, 1860, 382.

reading, instead of the more usual "Sleep kill those pretty eyes".¹

Like all entries in all of his commonplace books which I have seen, these extracts are copied into the book without much system. To be sure, six of the pages are headed "Love" and three "Jests", but on the other pages (headed "Shakespear") he jumps without warning from Troilus to Bassanio, and from Romeo back to Troilus. Seldom does he comment on the passages transcribed. He notes that the following passage (*Love's Labour's Lost*, v, 2) refers to "bumbast, trite phrases":

Nor woo in rhyme like a blind harper's song
Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-pil'd hyperboles, spruce affectation.
Figures pedantical,

and after quoting from the same scene "Dye when you will a smock shall be your shroud", he adds: "applicable to a Ladies man."

In two instances he has notably altered the text. He enters this couplet from the final act of *Romeo and Juliet*:

Ah me! how sweet is love it self possest
When but loves shadows are so rich in joy?

This he has altered to

Ah me! how sweet is Celia's self possest
When but her shadow makes a man so blest.

¹ Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare* was based on Theobald's edition of 1733. Reynolds, like Dodd, transcribes Romeo's

"—streaks

Do lace the severing clouds in yonder East.
Nights candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountains tops."

And, like Dodd, he appends to this Milton's

"—till morn

Wakd by the circling Hours, with rosy hand
Unbarrd the gates of light."

But Reynolds includes many "beauties" which Dodd omitted.

A similar alteration is made in a long quotation from *Titus Andronicus* (ii, 3), where instead of "My lovely Aaron" he writes "My Lovely Celia". Later in the same passage, when he was copying the line "Under the sweet shade Aaron let us sit", he began writing the correct name, but substituted "Celia" for it. Obviously Reynolds was interested at the time in a young lady whom he chose to name Celia.

When he occupied himself in making these "elegant extracts" is problematical. Since they appear at the front of the volume, they must have been written before the comments on painting which have already been discussed. They may have been written before he left his native Plympton, but in any case they indicate that he had read Shakespeare with some care before he appeared in Johnson's edition as a critic.



CHAPTER III

DEBUT

"I suppose you have heard of the establishment of a royal academy here; the first opportunity I have I will send you the discourse I delivered at its opening."

Reynolds to Barry, 1769.

"Numberless and ineffectual" were the consultations held "to form plans and concert schemes for an Academy". The plan of an Academy which has already been mentioned was but one of many that were drawn up from the time Reynolds established himself in London until 1768, when a Royal Academy became an actuality. Thanks chiefly to the influence which Chambers had on George III, organization was made possible late in this year, and Reynolds, who until the last wavered between this group and a rival one headed by Joshua Kirby, made his decision after he was convinced of royal support and was told "to the surprise of everybody" that he was to be the first president.

The first president was not fond of exhibiting himself in public as a speaker. Naturally timid, he delivered his inaugural address and his subsequent lectures in a way that was disappointing to his audiences. Years before, while a student at Minorca, he was thrown from his horse, thus bruising his upper lip so that, to use his own expression, it was "spoiled for kissing".¹ He might have added that it was also spoiled for enunciation. The fact that he was deaf made him less able to correct this

¹ *Letters*, 5.

defect. "His pronunciation was tinctured with the Devonshire accent", and, abhorring that "most hateful of all hateful qualities, affectation", he preferred speaking in a slovenly manner to being accused of aping a polished orator.¹ A certain noble earl (probably Lord Carlisle) complained to the president at the conclusion of one of the lectures: "Sir Joshua, you read your discourse in so low a tone that I did not distinguish one word you said." "That", replied Reynolds with a smile, "was to my advantage."²

Lacking confidence, then, in his abilities as an orator, he made it his practice to read his discourses, but he read to the Academy not his own manuscript, marred as it was with deletions and interlineations, but a fair copy written by an amanuensis. The scribe, as we shall see, was usually someone who lived with him, either one of his nieces or one of his pupils. It happens that the only pupil he had when he read his opening lecture was Charles Gill, son of an eminent pastry cook in Bath. Three letters which this youth wrote to Northcote are in my possession, two of which were written in 1773, the third at a much later date. The first two reveal a hand which when normal must have been as regular as that found in copybooks. That it was here not normal was due to his having been confined to his "Bed and Room almost three weeks in a violent fitt of the Rheumatism and Gout from catching cold, which I can by no means stand the bustle with, having almost lost the use of my Limbs and much troubled with nervous Headakes". In a postscript he adds: "Excuse my Whriting as my Whrists are painfull."

This droll letter becomes the more interesting when it is compared with a ruled sheet, torn out of a notebook

¹ Cornelia Knight's *Autobiography*, London, 1861, i, 9; *Works*, i, 111.

² *Northcote*, i, 179. For a similar criticism which appeared in a newspaper of the day see *Whitley*, ii, 135.

and now with the Reynolds MSS. in the Royal Academy. On it in a copybook hand is written a passage which occurs in the opening discourse.¹ It has been preserved fortuitously, Sir Joshua having written on the verso an anecdote which he intended to work into another discourse. There is enough similarity between the fair copy and the letters written four years later by Gill to suggest him as the first of the painter's scribes.

Reynolds read his inaugural address on the 2nd of January, 1769, at the formal opening of the Academy. He read it from a fair copy, made probably by Charles Gill, and we may assume that he read it badly. His fellow-Academicians were none the less pleased, for immediately after he had taken his seat the following resolution was passed:

That the Thanks of the General Assembly of the Academicians be given to Mr. Reynolds for his Ingenious, useful, and Elegant Speech deliver'd at the Opening of the Royal Academy. Ordered, That with Mr. Renolds's permission, the same be Printed for the Use of the Academy.

Flattered at receiving the approbation "of so considerable a Body of Artists", Mr "Renolds" wrote a brief prefatory note, addressed to them, and sent his manuscript to one William Bunce, who on 27 December had been appointed official printer to the Academy. Soon after, the quarto pamphlet of sixteen pages made its appearance with the following title-page: *A Discourse, delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy, January 2, 1769, by the President. London: Printed in the Year MDCCLXIX.* As is often the case with such pamphlets, it is to-day extremely difficult to acquire. Not many were printed, and it is probable that the president distributed all that there were to his friends and associates.

Doubtless at Reynolds's suggestion, Tom Davies, memorable for having introduced Boswell to Johnson,

¹ Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 217.

was proposed on 30 January as official bookseller to the Academy. On 28 February it was recorded that His Majesty had approved the appointment. Additional copies of the discourse were then struck off, with a slightly altered imprint, which read: "London: Printed by W. Bunce, Printer, and Sold by T. Davies, Bookseller, to the Royal Academy."

At the same time that Davies secured his appointment, Giovanni Claudio Molini, Parisian bookseller and publisher, had been appointed Foreign Bookseller to the Academy. Soon after, presumably, the first discourse made its appearance on the continent. Certainly the pamphlet circulated in Germany, where it received a flattering notice in the Leipzig periodical, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*. The notice, to be sure, is brief, merely explaining in a few words why the "eminent" painter had composed it, and ending with "Wir werden vielleicht gelegentlich mehr davon sagen". But "mehr davon sagen" was less necessary when in the following year the editor published a translation of it. One wonders whether a copy was sent to the author, who nowhere alludes to it.

He did know of at least two other translations of it, both made by young ladies of his acquaintance. The all-accomplished Cornelia Knight, later a companion to Queen Charlotte and to Princess Charlotte, earned for herself the praise of her elders by translating the discourse into excellent French, although she was a mere child of twelve.¹ Louisa Henrietta Flint, some eight years her senior, not only translated it into French but had her translation printed in Paris. The daughter of a Scottish teacher of English who resided in Paris because of his Jacobite sympathies, she is described by her friend Frances Reynolds as "une belle esprit" who disgusted

¹ F. H. Skrine's *Gossip about Dr Johnson and Others*, London, 1926, 71.

Mrs Carter while drinking tea with her one afternoon ("I have forgot at whose House") by raving "in the praise of Roseau!" She has described herself, modestly enough, as resembling Mme de Sévigné in wit and Mme de Maintenon in beauty.¹ She gave proof of her interest in learning by translating among other things Johnson's remarks on Shakespeare. She had returned to Paris after a visit to London in 1768, taking Frances with her, and soon afterwards, when Reynolds himself made a short trip to Paris, she had acted as his guide on an expedition to Versailles.

Opposite 13 February, 1769, Reynolds wrote in his pocket-book: "Send a Book to Sister in France." Perhaps the book was his opening address, and probably Sister showed it to Miss Flint. In any case Miss Flint translated it "most elegantly", according to Frances, and had it printed by one Michel Lambert.²

Such translations must have pleased the author, and he must have enjoyed the notice accorded the discourse in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.³ As was usual in those days, the bulk of the review was made up of generous quotations from the text. It concludes, however, with the remark that the discourse "certainly does honour to the president as a painter, if any honour can be added to that which he has acquired by his pencil: it has besides great merit as a literary composition".

¹ Le Breton's *Rivarol*, Paris, 1895, 35. In the unpublished letter quoted above, which is in the Huntington Library in California, Frances Reynolds refers to her friend's husband as "a very poor and I believe a very bad man". This was that amazing rogue, Antoine Rivarol, self-styled a count, who married her in 1783 and deserted her soon after, finding her a combination of Juno and Xantippe. She was not guillotined, as Boulton (p. 100) and Tom Taylor (i, 287 n.), misled by Northcote (i, 202), declare, but lived until 1821, writing among other things a biographical sketch of her scapegrace husband. Johnson's charming letter to her, written in French, is printed in *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Hill, Oxford, 1892, i, 150.

² Cf. *post*, p. 63.

³ xxxix, 98 (February, 1769).

That this was the opinion of the Academy was shown not only by their order to have the speech printed but by their resolution in the same month with reference to the catalogue for their first exhibition. "Resolved: That a Preface be prefixed to the Catalogue to appologise for our taking Money—That the President be desired to draw up a Preface." This he did, producing a month later "an Advertisement by way of Preface to the Catalogue". It was then resolved "That the following be the Preface—

Advertisement—

As the present Exhibition is a part of the Institution of an Academy supported by Royal Munificence, the Public may naturally expect the liberty of being admitted without any Expence.

The Academicians therefore think it necessary to declare that this was very much their desire but that they have not been able to suggest any other means than that of receiving Money for Admittance to prevent the Room from being fill'd by improper Persons, to the entire exclusion of those for whom the Exhibition is apparently intended."¹

The Academy had been instituted on the 10th of December, 1768, when His Majesty had approved the code of laws. For this reason the 10th of December was considered the proper date on which to hold the annual meeting at which prizes should be distributed to deserving students and officers should be elected for the ensuing year. But since the 10th fell on a Sunday in 1769 the first of such meetings was postponed until the 11th. The president, called upon to present the awards, felt he should say to the students something which would be more useful to them than barren praise. "I could wish to lead you into such a course of study as may render your future progress answerable to your past improvement;

¹ Minutes of the Council for 30 January and 28 February, 1769. The inferiority of this preface to that of 1762 is another argument that the earlier one was written by Johnson. Cf. *ante*, p. 25.

and, whilst I applaud you for what has been done, remind you how much yet remains to attain perfection."¹

This then is the apology for the second and all subsequent discourses. He repeats it in his final address, saying:

If prizes were to be given, it appeared not only proper, but almost indispensably necessary, that something should be said by the President on the delivery of those prizes; and the President for his own credit would wish to say something more than mere words of compliment, which, by being frequently repeated, would soon become flat and uninteresting, and by being uttered to many, would at last become a distinction to none: I thought, therefore, if I were to preface this compliment with some instructive observations on the Art, when we crowned merit in the Artists whom we rewarded, I might do something to animate and guide them in their future attempts.²

As was the case with the inaugural address, the Academy voted that the president should give his manuscript to the printer, and hereafter the printing of the discourses was taken as a matter of course. During the autumn Bunce, the original printer, had died, and in his place the Academy had elected William Griffin, whose name does not appear on the imprint of the discourses. The title-page, which served as a model for the remaining discourses, reads: *A Discourse, Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, December 11, 1769, by the President. London: Sold by Thomas Davies, Bookseller to the Royal Academy. MDCCLXIX.* Although the date of printing is given as 1769, it is probable that the pamphlet did not appear until early in the new year. As we shall see later, the printers were not fond of working during the Christmas holidays, and the resolution of the Academy to have the discourse printed was not passed until the meeting on the 1st of January.

¹ *Works*, i, 23.

² *Id.* ii, 185.

The pamphlet sold for 1s. 6d., but judging from the fact that the majority of copies which are still extant were gifts of the author, it is not likely that the sale could have been great. There is on record one instance of its falling into hands unknown to Reynolds. James Brunton, a young apprentice to a clockmaker in Norwich, after reading the discourse, was so fired with enthusiasm that he determined to become a painter. He wrote to Sir Joshua, for Reynolds had been knighted after becoming president of the Academy, and received a reply which resulted in the master releasing the apprentice, who then came to London and became a student of Cipriani's.¹

At about this time Sir Joshua's interest in men of letters was revealed in another way. A few months before the second discourse was delivered, the Academicians had elected his friend Giuseppe Baretti secretary for foreign correspondence. Baretti is so styled on 20 October, when he was being tried for murder, but the appointment was not officially confirmed until the meeting of the Council on the 9th of November. Early in the following January, "The President & Treasurer reported that His Majesty had been pleased to appoint Dr. Samuel Johnson, Professor of Antient Literature, Oliver Goldsmith, M.B. Professor of antient History, & Richard Dalton Esq^r. Antiquarian to the Royal Academy."² The professorships, needless to say, were purely honorary, and Reynolds of course was the sponsor for the idea. The occupants of the various chairs were invariably his closest friends and were men of recognized literary ability. "There is no duty required", he wrote Langton

¹ In a letter dated 8 April, 1772 (now in the Royal Academy), Northcote writes: "Brunton who I have befor mentiond to you is by this time dead in a consumption at Norwich."

² Minutes of the Council for 9 January, 1770. "His Majesty had been pleased to appoint" was a euphemism. According to Farington, "he never approved of these appointments in the first instance." (Farington's *Diary*, i, 49.)

at a later date;¹ "we desire only the honour of your name, for which you have the entrè of the Academy and we give you once a year a very good dinner, I mean that before the Exhibition and you see the Exhibition as often as you please *gratis*."

As is well known, Goldsmith remarked when elected that honours to one in his circumstances "were like ruffles to a man who had no shirt". He accepted with none the less pleasure because of his fondness for the president. The two were at this time constantly in one another's society. The poet was sitting to the painter for the portrait which was exhibited in the spring, and while the Exhibition was still in progress *The Deserted Village* was published with its dedication to Sir Joshua in words which are of particular significance in this study.

I can have no expectations in an address of this kind, either to add to your reputation or to establish my own. You can gain nothing from my admiration, as I am ignorant of that art in which you are said to excel, and I may lose much by the severity of your judgment, as few have a juster taste in poetry than you. Setting interest, therefore, aside—to which I never paid much attention—I must be indulged at present in following my affections. The only dedication I ever made was to my brother, because I loved him better than most other men. He is since dead. Permit me to inscribe this poem to you.

There can be no doubt but that Goldsmith was the man for whom Sir Joshua had the greatest affection. Biographers of both have laid stress on their friendship. And while further evidence which has come to light in recent publications is of little real value, it makes none the less pleasant reading. One of Sir Joshua's nephews, for example, is unable to write a longer letter because "Dr. Goldsmith and Uncle are at draughts close by me".² This was in January, 1773, when *She Stoops to Conquer*, which was soon to be presented, had not yet been named.

¹ *Letters*, 182.

² *Sir Joshua's Nephew*, II.

Sir Joshua suggested he should call it *The Belle's Stratagem*, threatening to damn the play if his title was not accepted, but the threat and the suggestion were disregarded by the author. Some weeks after the play had been successfully produced, the two were riding through Mayfair in Sir Joshua's coach. In Berkeley Square, spying Johnson and Boswell on foot, they called to them and offered them a ride, remarking that "they were at a loss where to go". "So", said Boswell, "you took us as guides", to which Johnson's comment was "I wondered, indeed, at their great civility". Learning that their friends were on their way to a dinner at General Oglethorpe's, the painter and the poet decided that they too would attend it, though uninvited, and the scraps of conversation Boswell preserved indicate that their presence enlivened the party.¹

In a frantic effort to make some money Goldsmith was planning to bring out a *Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*. The literary-minded Sir Joshua had offered to supply him with an article, presumably on painting, but the project fell through, and soon after, worn out with hack-work, debts, and fever, the gifted writer became confined to the bed from which he was never to arise again alive. On the day he died, so moved was Sir Joshua, that he refrained from entering his studio, which was most unusual for him.

Meanwhile the third, fourth, and fifth discourses had been delivered annually on the distribution of the prizes. Thereafter they were given on alternate years, since it was felt that the honour of winning the medals would be the greater if the awards were less frequent. After the third discourse had been read, the council voted to reserve for distinguished visitors twelve chairs, which should be marked "V" and placed in the front of the room in which the lectures were delivered. In other

¹ *Boswell Papers*, vi, 126. Cf. *Boswell's Life*, ii, 232.

words, the president was addressing not only students and members of the Academy, but a select number of outsiders as well.

Until this time the discourses had met with nothing but approval, but after the fifth had been printed the inevitable reaction set in, and while this was never widespread during Sir Joshua's lifetime, it is at least deserving of notice. In 1774 an anonymous pamphlet was published, entitled *Observations on the Discourses delivered at the Royal Academy. Addressed to the President*. The author could "with the greatest truth affirm" that he had not even a personal knowledge of Sir Joshua, and repeatedly refers to himself as "an obscure, unknown critic". Although praising the president's literary style, he insinuates that someone has acted as his "taylor". His insulting manner is intensified by the inclusion of some scurrilous verses spoken by Sir Obadiah Twylight, and he continually sneers at Reynolds for practising what he calls the "sub-fusk". His thesis is that Sir Joshua praises the Bolognese painters in order to secure for his own pictures greater admiration, that he is in danger of becoming "the oracle of an auction-room; where dirty, self-interested panegyrick, or abuse, as occasion requires, join hand in hand in deceiving the unwary publick". Much of his criticism of Sir Joshua's theories is justified. Had it been phrased in a more restrained and dignified manner, it would have been more effective. As it was, it seems to have excited no comment.

One person, however, read the pamphlet with care. This was the gentleman to whom it was addressed. Certain passages must have caused him to resort to his snuff-box, but he was attentive when the critic became constructive. This is made evident from an examination of the discourse which was delivered in the following December. The opening remarks would seem to be an apology for the generalizations which he has made in his

discourses; the details of the art he has "always left to the several Professors". He then launches into his subject, decrying those who have represented painting "as a kind of *inspiration*, as a *gift* bestowed upon peculiar favourites at their birth".¹ This was merely a restatement of what he had said in his third discourse, but he had been misunderstood by his critic, who scornfully commented: "The ancients, he tells us, . . . produced their works, not from the study of nature . . . , but from a kind of poetical, enthusiastic inspiration."

Towards the end of the discourse occurs a passage which is even more clearly an answer to the pamphlet. His critic had written :

The young artist should be taught to consider the different schools, as uniting their different excellencies to form the perfect painter; and that he who has this object in view, should look upon himself as unchained, unprejudiced to the particular manners, of any particular school or master; he should learn to select what is excellent, and to reject what is vicious in them all; and it was incumbent upon him who is thus become his instructor, to have pointed out to him, with candour and impartiality, the merits of these different schools; to have shewn him wherein they have failed, wherein they have excelled.

Is it mere coincidence that towards the end of his sixth discourse Sir Joshua discusses the works of the Dutch, the Venetians, the French, pointing out in each what is worthy of being imitated? That he had his critic in mind is the more likely in that he ends this review with the paragraph commencing :

To find excellencies, however dispersed; to discover beauties, however concealed by the multitude of defects with which they are surrounded, can be the work only of him, who having a mind always alive to his art, has extended his views to all ages and to all schools; and has acquired from that comprehensive mass which he has thus gathered to himself, a well-digested and perfect idea of his art, to which every thing is referred.²

¹ *Works*, i, 147; cf. i, 53 *et seq.*

² *Id.* i, 181.

About the time that this lecture was published the president was again attacked in print for what he had written. The *London Chronicle* of 29-31 December, 1774, printed the following advertisement: "In a few Days will be published An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England. By James Barry, Royal Academician, and member of the Clementine Academy of Bologna." This notice, repeated in the following issue, was altered in that of 14-17 January to read: "Thursday next will be published", etc., and on the next Thursday, 19 January, it began: "This day is published", etc. Such information is needed to disprove Tom Taylor's note and the later use he makes of it.¹ Misled by the date of the dedication to the King (10 November, 1774), Taylor thought that the pamphlet was published in November and implies that Barry's discussion of genius influenced Sir Joshua when composing his sixth discourse. Though mistaken in these respects, he is justified in asserting that Reynolds was being attacked. The passages quoted by Taylor, not only from the *Inquiry* but from Burke's letter to its author, clearly indicate that the impetuous young Irishman was annoyed at Sir Joshua's unrestrained praise of Michelangelo. Not many years later, when the president remonstrated with him for not giving his lectures as Professor of Painting, "Barry with clenched fist and rude gesture replied, 'If I had only in composing my lectures to produce such poor mistaken stuff as *your* discourses, I should have my work done, and ready to read'."²

In spite of such animadversions Sir Joshua's prestige as a writer was by now established. Young Northcote writes: "if you want to find truth and instruction you

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 59 *et seq.*, 92.

² Sandby's *History of the Royal Academy of Arts*, London, 1862, i, 186. Cf. *Northcote*, ii, 146.

must read Sir Joshuas discourses for those contain more than all the books put together that have been writ before and there seems hardly any thing left more to say.”¹ A year earlier young Samuel Johnson had confessed: “I have not had the least time to read, not even Uncle’s Discourse, which every Body has read”, and soon after he writes: “I did not forget Mama’s commission about my Uncle’s discourses the first time, but find it is impossible to get them except from the Bookseller.”²

Perhaps it was because “every Body” was reading them and because the author’s own supply of them was exhausted that he decided after publishing the seventh discourse to reprint them in a collected edition. This enabled him to make certain alterations, and if I am correct in dating a letter he wrote to Dr Johnson, these alterations were made late in 1777:

I am making additions and should wish you to see it all together. If I sent it to you now, I must send it again when those additions are finished, I have not courage enough to appear in public without your imprimatur.³

If this letter refers to the revision for the collected edition, Dr Johnson must have rejected many of the additions. Except for the omission of three passages, the alterations were slight.

Of the omissions two were from the first discourse. One of these was the following paragraph, which had appeared on the third page of the original quarto:

It has been observed, that the ARTS have ever been disposed to travel westward. *Greece* is thought to have received them from her more eastern neighbours. From the *Greeks* they migrated into *Italy*; from thence they visited *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, enlightening, for a time, those countries, though with diminished lustre; but, as if the ocean had stopped their progress, they have

¹ From an unpublished part of a letter in the Royal Academy, dated 25 January, 1776.

² *Sir Joshua’s Nephew*, 44, 86.

³ *Letters*, 57.

for near an age stood still, and grown weak and torpid for want of motion. Let us for a moment flatter ourselves that they are still in being, and have at last arrived at this island. Our MONARCH seems willing to think so, having provided such an Asylum for their reception, as may induce them to stay where they are so much honoured.

This was doubtless omitted because of the scoffing reference to it in the *Observations on the Discourses* mentioned above. After quoting a part of the passage the critic adds:

How happy then are we, in having so excellent an *inn* provided for their reception? which we hope will be an inducement to them to make some stay in this country; for we can assure them, that nothing shall be wanting on our part, to make it as commodious and agreeable as possible.

The other omitted passage originally appeared in the middle of the discourse. Speaking of the advantages there are in "seminaries of learning", the president maintains that it is from his equals rather than from his superiors that the student "catches the fire of emulation"—and the remainder of the quotation he deleted:

which will not a little contribute to his advancement.

But it is needless to enumerate all the benefits that will result from this Institution. The world seems already satisfied, that the Arts must be protected in order to flourish; at least, I believe, this assembly will not be disposed to think them unworthy of the regard and protection with which HIS MAJESTY has been pleased to honour them.

The other changes in the opening address, four in number, are of slight importance. Sir Joshua inserts a *possibly* in one sentence, omits a superfluous word in another, and rephrases two passages. One of these will serve as a sample. Discussing the danger of too great a facility in painting, he originally said: "there is scarce an instance of return to scrupulous labour, after the mind has been relaxed and debauched by these delightful

trifles." The conclusion he altered to "after the mind has been debauched and deceived by this fallacious mastery". In every case the revisions improve the discourse.

This applies as well to the changes which he made in the other discourses. In the second he qualified his praise of Ludovico Carracci, possibly because of the strictures of the anonymous critic, omitted three unessential phrases, and made eight minor verbal changes. The third discourse shows but four changes, none of which is important; and the fourth discourse shows but three. Of these one is of interest. The following passage, originally found in the second paragraph, was cancelled:

[The exertion of the mental faculties] gives the superiority to the Painter of History over all others of our profession. No part of his work is produced but by an effort of the mind; there is no object which he can set before him as a perfect model, there is none which he can venture minutely to imitate, and to transfer with all its beauties and blemishes into his great design.

There were no changes made in the fifth discourse, and the only one in the sixth was to correct a typographical error. The seventh was amended in four places, once to clarify an involved sentence, and the other three times to render his phraseology more concise.

One task remained before he was ready to publish: a dedication had to be written. Although there was a marked coolness between the painter and his king, Sir Joshua decided to dedicate the volume to George III. But he felt incapable of expressing himself sufficiently well. "Writing a dedication", he observed to Boswell, "is a knack. It is like writing an advertisement."¹ He turned then to the friend who had written so many for others and to whom it "was indifferent. . . what was the subject of the work dedicated, provided it were innocent".² Johnson seems to have written the dedication

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 556.

² *Id.* ii, 2.

on 18 April, 1778, and performed his task with such success that his words have been reprinted as a model for all dedications.¹ The reviewer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* dismissed the discourses in one flattering sentence and devoted the rest of his space to the dedication. What is more surprising is the number of biographers who have commended Sir Joshua for this bit of writing. Tom Taylor, for example, praises him for preserving "his quiet dignity, even in contact with royalty".²

The book was published in the middle of May, about a month after Johnson wrote the dedication. It was brought out in octavo by Thomas Cadell, who had succeeded Davies three months earlier as printer to the Royal Academy.³ For some reason it attracted little attention when it first appeared. It was not advertised in the *London Chronicle* until July, and the notices in the *Monthly Review* and *Gentleman's Magazine* were delayed until the issues for September and December, respectively. But this delay does not seem to have affected the sale of the book. In the Theatre Collection of the Harvard College Library is a receipt signed by Reynolds which indicates that the venture was a financial success:

Receiv'd Novr. 27. 1778 of Mr Cadell Sixty two Pounds Nine Shillings in full for my moiety of the Profit on the first Edition of my Discourses (the Octavo Edition)

J Reynolds

£62-9-0

As far as I know, this is the only instance of Sir Joshua's receiving remuneration for his writings. Certainly he prized his sixty-odd pounds far less than his

¹ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, i, 83.

² *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 223.

³ Minutes of the Council, 10 February, 1778: "Mr. Davies Bookseller and Printer to the Royal Academy becoming a Bankrupt and Mr. Cadell having made a voluntary offer that if he is elected Bookseller & Printer to the Royal Academy he will engage to give to Mrs. Davies 20£... Resolved that Mr. Cadell be appointed."

literary reputation, which was considerably enhanced by the book. Individually the discourses were mere ephemeral pamphlets; collected, they took on an added importance, which explains why Dr Johnson expressed such satisfaction on the publication of this edition.¹

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 369.



CHAPTER IV

RECOGNITION ABROAD

"Il mio desiderio di rivedere la vostra bella Firenze, ben potete credere... che sia ora cresciuto a molti doppi, essendo ora in certo modo legato e connesso con voi, e divenuto in qualche foggia come un vostro concittadino."

Reynolds to Pelli, 26 January, 1776.

A few months after the publication of the *Seven Discourses*, the lectures appeared in Italian, translated at Sir Joshua's request by his friend Giuseppe Baretti. Since this publication was brought out in the same year and contained the same seven discourses, it would seem to have been based on the English edition. Indeed, it is so described in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library. But Johnson's dedication to the King is not included, nor are the alterations which had been made by Sir Joshua, the reason being that the Italian had begun his task long before there was any plan of collecting the lectures in one volume. In a letter dated 21 December, 1776, little more than a week after the seventh had been delivered and before it had been published, Johnson reports that Baretti "has got five-and-twenty guineas by translating Sir Joshua's Discourses into Italian".¹

In all probability the task had been undertaken several years before this. Late in 1773 a Tuscan engraver, styled in official documents as "Luigi, son of Cosimo Siries",² was commissioned by Grand Duke Peter Leopold I

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 96 *et seq.*

² The name Siries among eighteenth-century Florentines had the same connotation in art as has Roosevelt in American politics or Barrymore in

to acquire certain books for use in the Cabinet of Medals at Florence. From a letter of his preserved among the archives in the Uffizi we know that he had left Paris by the end of the year, had gone to Brussels, and was about to proceed to Antwerp, the Hague, and Amsterdam. From here he must have gone to London, since in July, shortly after his return to Florence, he addressed a petition to his sovereign wherein he stated that while in London he had been asked to express to the Grand Duke Sir Joshua Reynolds's desire to add his self-portrait to the famous collection begun by the Medici. It was Siries who wrote Sir Joshua in September that the Grand Duke was only too pleased to accept the offer; it was to Siries that the completed portrait was sent the following year; and it was in care of Siries that Sir Joshua later addressed his two letters on the same subject to the Director of the Gallery, Giuseppe Pelli. From 1774 to 1776 the two men were in communication with each other.

In the course of this correspondence Sir Joshua may well have made some passing reference to his discourses, as he did, for instance, in his first letter to Pelli. Perhaps Siries responded by expressing the wish that Italians

the theatre to-day. One of the later Medici Grand Dukes, the weak but art-loving Ferdinand II, had summoned to his court Louis or Luigi Siries, a Frenchman famous for his work in pietra dura. "The large tables in the Pitti Gallery with a porphyry groundwork, and with representations of shells and flowers delicately shaded, are all the work of Luigi and Carlo Siries." (Horner, as quoted in Col. G. F. Young's *The Medici*, London, 1909, ii, 422.) One of his descendants, born in Florence in 1710, was Violante Beatrice Siries, the painter. In 1740 a Louis Siries who had been goldsmith to Louis XV settled in Florence and became director of the Grand Ducal Gallery, dying shortly after 1766. "The engraver of the same name or whose initials at least are the same is a distinct person, possibly a son of Louis Siries. To the latter belong the dies of the later coinage of Pietro Leopoldo II, Ferdinand III, and Ludovico III from some time after 1767 to 1803 and the medal dated 1811 of the Crusca Academy. . . . Nagler, Schlickeysen-Pallman, and the others are in error in saying that Louis Siries flourished 1747-95 or 1803." (Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, 1912.)

might have the privilege of reading these discourses in their own language, which would have led Reynolds to reply that Baretti was in fact engaged in translating them. In any case when Siries learned that such a project was in progress he voluntarily offered to see the volume through the press, and to this both author and translator readily acquiesced.

It must have been at this time that Baretti received his five-and-twenty guineas. He then completed his work, secured the author's approval, and sent the manuscript to his step-brother Paul, Sardinian consul in Leghorn, requesting him to deliver it to the editor. By June, 1778, the Florentine had received the text, and soon after he transmitted it to his printer in Leghorn. A few months later the book was published in Florence and seems to have met with an enthusiastic reception. The review in *Le Nouvelle Letterarie* for September, though written by Baretti's enemy Marco Lastri, who had spoken of him most sarcastically in the same periodical two months earlier, was distinctly favourable. One might suppose that both author and translator would have been pleased at the undoubted success which the book had scored, but such was not the case.

For to his intense surprise and indignation Baretti discovered that the edition scarcely resembled the original manuscript. His preface in the form of a letter to Siries had been discarded, and in its stead the editor had substituted one of his own composition. He had tampered as well with the text of the discourses and had even altered the title-page, omitting incidentally any mention of the translator's name. As might be expected Baretti was furious, and no one who recalls his strictures on "la Piozzi" or his behaviour with the London prostitute who assaulted him, will imagine that he suffered in silence. According to his friend Dr Johnson, it was ever his desire to appear frank, manly, and independent, and

on the same good authority we know that his conception of independence was simple rudeness. In this instance his conduct was characteristic.

Goaded by an explanation which Siries wrote him on the 3rd of November and by a slighting phrase of Lastri's, the enraged Baretto forthwith composed an open letter in which with a savageness seldom displayed he mercilessly lashed the faithless editor and the equally culpable reviewer. Privately printed in London, the four-page pamphlet was distributed gratis throughout Italy and particularly in Tuscany. On account of its character this leaflet is now extremely rare, and though it has been reprinted in Baretto's collected works, it has never been translated into English. For this reason and because the invective reveals so well the feelings of the injured translator, I have thought it worth including here. One wonders what the calm Sir Joshua thought while reading it.¹

London, 13 December, 1778.

That you are anything but literate, Signor Luigi Siries, you need not bother to tell me; nor did I entrust my translation of the *Discourses on Painting* to you because I thought you were. How could I have so deceived myself after having read the various things you had written to me? From these it is sufficiently clear that you have never studied the grammar of your native tongue; it is equally clear that you know no more of its spelling. My translation I entrusted to you on the sole assumption that you possessed that portion of honesty which even more ignorant men can possess when they will; I entrusted it to you on the supposition that what I sent to you would have been printed under your supervision, according to your voluntary offer to Sir Joshua

¹ In his admirable edition of Baretto's *Prefazioni e Polemiche* (Bari, 1911, 390) Prof. Luigi Piccioni asserts that there is a copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale-centrale at Florence inscribed by the author: "All'illustrissimo e dottissimo signore—il dottor Giovanni Targioni—Firenze (*Italy*).” The copy has disappeared. In a recent article by Prof. Piccioni (*Alexandria*, Dec. 1935) there is an excerpt from an unpublished letter of Baretto's which shows that his attack on Siries and Lastri was carried on at least as late as 1780.

Reynolds and your promise to myself. Realizing, as you did, your lack of training and your ignorance of the colloquial, to say nothing of the literary language of your country, how could you have been so bold as to put your hand to my translation? How could you have had the impudence to heap upon me all your blunders, vulgarisms, and barbarisms? It may be, as you tell me in your last letter, that Florentine artists could not have understood it because of its rhetorical periods, or, as you express it with bombastic stupidity, could not "have deciphered its recondite circumlocutions of eloquence".¹ And who has told you, Signor Luigi, that in order to deliver ignorant artists from their ignorance, you must therefore write in your clumsy style and confuse the educated with a debauched and absurd jargon? And who has told you, moreover, that the labour of translating these discourses should have been undergone solely for your petty and ignorant artists? Because the artists of Florence are in your presumptuous opinion a pack of asses, my dear Signor Luigi Siries, superlative ass that you are, must you re-do a thing of mine, or rather un-do it, degrading the language, corrupting the style, distorting the thought, and polluting the whole with your imbecilities, that it may be intelligible to your long-eared brethren?

And yet, Signor Luigi, on the sixteenth of last June you wrote me that upon receiving it you submitted it to the judgment of those very artists, to whom you applied the epithet "enlightened", and that they had, to use your odious phrase, "testified to the pleasure which had been rendered to the light".² How does it happen, friend of my bosom, that on the sixteenth of June the Florentine artists are enlightened and that on the third of November they have become so blind as not even to understand what is written in my consistently chaste style? How has such a deplorable metamorphosis taken place in so few months? Moreover you thanked me in the name of Senator Federighi for having given to Italy such a polished performance. Why then render it so ugly in so many places with so many stupidities of your own invention? Why mar the very title with a grammatical blunder after that gentleman had approved of it and, even though un-acquainted with me, had kindly charged you to extend to me his congratulations? To add to the impertinence—nay, to put the finishing touch to your bad faith—you have suppressed my name, "thinking that the merit of a translator would be of no value to

¹ "dicifrata nel misterioso giro dell'eloquenza."

² "testificato il piacere che si desse alla luce."

a man of letters who can acquire fame from his own productions".¹ But why "think" that that is not a "production", if I too must use this ugly word? Whatever you may have "thought", why didn't you first ask me whether I did or did not value that "merit"? And what advantage might you expect to procure for my translation by depriving it of my name? To me it seems clear enough that my name does belong to it, since I am secretary of that Academy in which the original discourses were delivered from time to time by the President, and since I translated those originals under his very eyes. Why, stupid and spiteful little dolt, why not allow the names of two old friends to remain coupled, so that the world might reasonably suppose the translator unlikely to have departed a whit from the author's conception?

However, explain to me one small point, Signor Luigi Sires; since I put no great value on an object, shall I permit any pick-pocket to steal it from me? Confess the truth, my petty thief, confess it to me! You stole my small portion of "merit", not in the least with the idea that "I put no value on it", but in order falsely to attribute to yourself a work of mine, whereby you could pass in your own city for a greater person than you are. That this was your cunning design I discern from an equivocal passage in your shallow and contemptible preface, wherein you state craftily and in two vapid and awkward phrases that "the translation was born on the Thames" and that "it has since taken new form on the Arno". With these pseudo-poetic words you wished to give the impression to your fellow-Florentines that you yourself translated Sir Joshua's discourses when you were here in London, and that afterwards, returning home, you polished them at your ease. Bravo, Signor Luigi, and bravo, Provost Lastri, who to help forward your thievish design has commented quite as craftily upon those ambiguous words of yours, softly insinuating in the thirty-sixth number of the *Novelle Letterarie* that "the editor of the book seems to be the translator as well". Disreputable swindlers, both of you! Are you courting the literary world with this information? Do you stand to gain from these lies? And why isn't that rascally priest ashamed to be in league with a Luigi Sires, assisting him to commit a theft of this sort? But leave him to me, for at his convenience I can pay him very well for his thievish practices and can point out to him the true profession of the priest and provost.

¹ "pensando che il merito di traduttore non sia da valutarsi per niente da un letterato che sa distinguersi colle sue proprie produzioni."

I turn once more to you—with reason did my brother Paul write to me from Leghorn, when I sent him my manuscript so that you might have it: “would that I might have nothing at all to do with Signor Luigi Siries; sickly, debauched, full of vanity, tricks, and mischief, he is a toady to every gentleman in his native city”. I, however, deceived by your letters which breathed of modesty throughout, and trapped by your insidious offers, replied that he should think twice before believing the evil he had heard of you, and that he should send my manuscript to you with such entire faith as not even to retain a copy of it. So much the worse for me then if you have played a trick on me, and my manuscript has been destroyed! I have no excuse for having been too ready to trust you, except that when I have no clear proof to the contrary, I am in the habit of considering everyone honest, and that from a brief correspondence it is not too easy to distinguish the blackguard from the honest man. So much the better, however, since by means of my experience I have forced you, willy-nilly, to tear off your mask; I have made you reveal yourself what I had not thought you—a thorough-going blackguard. What punishment the laws of Tuscany might mete out to you for an offence of this unusual sort, were I to appeal to them, I know not. I do know, however, that I shall take pains, even though far away, to make you known as a complete rogue to those who do not know you as yet, whereby anyone who is unwary may guard himself from you and your rascally dirty tricks. And in the hope of impressing your countrymen with your perfidious character I shall not neglect mentioning your supreme insolence in having suppressed, traitor that you are, my *Letter to the Editor*, in which were some respectful allusions to that most august personage who has the charitable clemency to give you your bread. Why, lazy beggar, refer solely to a sovereign unknown to you, who has magnanimously assisted the arts, instead of coupling him, as I did in that letter, with your Grand Duke, who is equally magnanimous in his own sphere? Nor need you answer that you were unwilling to print my letter because it was addressed to you. Didn't I tell you to place it at the beginning of the book without your name if you feared that such an honour might earn for you the envy and ill-will of your fellow-Florentines?

My disclosure of your worthlessness will be slight chastisement to a petty thief who makes off to Italy with a work carefully composed by an honest and experienced scholar, only to give in exchange a clumsy affair, debased and marred from beginning to end by a headstrong young vagabond, ignorant of the grammar as

well as the spelling of his native tongue. But what else can I do in this case? At such a distance how can I punish you more severely so that proper justice may be had? So then, most amiable little Signor Luigi, rejoice exceedingly in the infamous trick which together with Provost Lastri you have played upon me, and laugh since you have cause to. Farewell, remarkable and foremost champions of Florentine language, literature, and integrity. I salute you both very dearly.

Baretti of course is anything but dispassionate. One wonders whether there was anything to be said on the other side. At least one of the remarks made by Siries in his letters to Baretti seems to have been true—that in which he accuses his fellow-artists of being petty and ignorant. "Here", writes Horace Mann at about this time, "is neither Painter, Engraver, nor Sculptor above the most common class. The best of the latter sort is a drunken Englishman whose whole employment is to make chimney pieces for the Palace, and some for Russia, whose Empress buys everything, good or bad, that her emissaries can find in Italy."¹ But though Siries objected to Baretti's rhetoric, the original version could scarcely have been less intelligible to his long-eared brethren. The brief excerpts given from the Florentine's letters reveal his fondness for the ornate, and this characteristic is the more pronounced in the book he sponsored.

The style is stilted, but I have noticed only one passage which might be considered a faulty translation. Speaking of the grand style of painting in his third discourse, Sir Joshua wrote: "Every language has adopted terms expressive of this excellence. The *gusto grande* of the Italians, the *beau ideal* of the French, and the *great style*, *genius*, and *taste* among the English, are but different appellations of the same thing." The translation reads: "Ogni idioma à delle frasi esprimenti quella tale

¹ Doran's *'Mann' and Manners at the Court of Florence*, 1740-1786, London, 1876, ii, 373 *et seq.*

eccellenza, e il *Gusto grandioso* degl' Italiani, il *Bello ideale* de' Francesi, lo *Stile grande*, il *Genio*, o il *Gusto* degl' Inglesi, non son altro che appellativi diversi d' una cosa medesima." One might expect the foreign terms to have been retained, as was done in the French and German editions.

In his preface Siries comments in a flattering way upon the author of the discourses and upon George III, who had made possible the formation of a Royal Academy, but, as Baretti indicates, he neglects to mention his own sovereign, who had displayed much energy and enthusiasm in adding to the great collection which the Medici had formed. The editor remarks that he knows Reynolds only through the discourses and the self-portrait at Florence, a print from which serves as frontispiece to the book. He then comments on the translation itself in a passage which Baretti quoted: "Ella è nata sul Tamigi e quasi sotto gli occhi dell' Autore, per la parte della corrispondenza dei sentimenti coll' originale; ma ella à preso nuova forma sull' Arno, quant' all' eleganza e alla correzione dello stile"—a passage which, when we know the facts in the case, reveals a certain amount of dexterity in the writer.

What Sir Joshua thought of the matter we may infer from the fact that none of the later discourses appeared in Italian. Siries closed his preface by declaring that if the reading public were satisfied with his performance and if the author should honour him by sending him copies of subsequent lectures, he would bring out a second volume. That the reading public was satisfied is indicated by favourable reviews and a second edition. A writer in *Efemeridi Letterarie di Roma*, for example, comments as follows: "Noi confessiamo ingenuamente, che non abbiain sinora letto altro libro su di questa materia, scritto con maggior raffinamento di buon gusto, e con più gran maturità di senno." In 1787, nine years after

the Florentine edition, another was brought out, printed in Venice and published in Bassano. And the translation circulated not only in Italy, but in France and Germany as well, although the Germans had already had the opportunity of reading the discourses in their own language.

In 1769, the year in which the Academy officially opened, the first discourse had been noticed in a Leipzig periodical, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, and a translation of it had been included in the next volume. Brief notices of the second and third discourses later appeared with promises to print translations as soon as possible. The second came out in 1773 and the third a year later. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh followed, the second instalment of the last of these being published early in 1780. In the same year there was a notice of the Italian edition, and by this time the English edition of 1778 was in circulation.

It was this that inspired a similar edition in German, published at Dresden in 1781. I have assumed that the translator was Kosmeli, the art critic. In the preface, dated 20 July, 1780, and signed "A. E. K.", he calls attention to the revisions Sir Joshua had made for the collected edition and criticizes the translations which had been published in *Neue Bibliothek*, declaring that his is superior to these not only because it is "nach der letzten Originalausgabe" but also because he has corrected "vieler Fehler und Nachlässigkeiten", the mistakes his predecessor had made through ignorance or carelessness. "Man hat sich dabey bemühet, die Gedanken des Herrn Verfassers mit eben der Deutlichkeit, Kürze und Präcision in unserer Sprache auszudrücken wie sie in dem Originale mit so vielem Scharfsinn vorgetragen sind." He concludes as did Siries with the promise to translate the succeeding discourses, should the present volume have the good fortune to meet with approval. Unlike

Siries he lived up to his promise, publishing at Hamburg the complete works of Reynolds in 1802.

Meanwhile the editor of *Neue Bibliothek* seems to have been but slightly affected by his rival's strictures. To be sure, of the remaining discourses only the tenth and thirteenth were translated, but in flattering notices of the eighth and fourteenth was expressed the usual hope that they as well might soon be rendered into German for the benefit of his readers. Nor was this the extent of his connection with Reynolds. The translation of the thirteenth discourse inspired an attack on Sir Joshua's theories which was published in the next volume of the magazine. After dissecting and examining the discourse, the author demonstrated what many writers have since done, that Sir Joshua is not always logical in his deductions. But what is of more interest than the attack itself is the attitude of the editor, who explains in a prefatory note that he does not agree with the sentiments expressed in the article, feeling "dass der Verf. seinen Gegner fast nie verstanden hat". Throughout the essay the editor has inserted notes to prove this point, and at the conclusion he has written that though the essayist has revealed himself a careful student of aesthetic theories, he should "study as thoroughly the feeling of the *artist* and he will find in the discourse truth instead of paradox, though it is concealed by a somewhat involved phraseology".¹

Before this had been written, the discourses had been translated into French. Indirectly at least this was the result of another attack on Sir Joshua's theories, launched by an artist whom Reynolds had known in his younger days when a student at Rome. In 1783 appeared the biography of Anton Raphael Mengs, who had died four years earlier. In this Mengs was quoted as having remarked: "That the book of the English Reynolds would lead youth into error, because it abandons them to

¹ *Neue Bibliothek*, xxxvi (1788), 202 n.

superficial principles, the only ones known to that author.”¹ Soon after the publication of this biography the writings of the German Mengs, Principal Painter to the King of Spain, were translated from the Italian into French by a Dutchman, Hendrik Jansen, who thereupon wrote the following letter to “the English Reynolds”:

Paris, ce 11 Septembre, 1786.

Monsieur,

La critique que M. Mengs fait, en passant, dans ses œuvres, de vos Discours lus à l'Académie Royale de Peinture de Londres, me les a faits relire; et c'est avec un nouveau plaisir que j'en ai admiré et le fond et la forme; ce qui m'a engagé à les traduire dans l'intention de les publier, afin que les lecteurs françois qui ne savent pas l'anglais, soient à même de juger la sévérité un peu hasardée de M. Mengs, qui avoit quelquefois un peu d'humeur atrabilaire, ainsi que le remarque M. Cumberland dans ses *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain*.² Je me suis porté avec d'autant plus d'empressement à faire une traduction française de votre ouvrage, Monsieur, que c'est une espèce de réparation que je vous dois, comme traducteur des œuvres de M. Mengs en deux volumes *in quarto*, qui vont bientôt paroître, et dont j'aurais l'honneur de vous faire passer un exemplaire, si cela vous fait plaisir. Je crois cependant, Monsieur, que l'honnêteté qu'on doit surtout aux hommes d'un talent supérieur, ne me permet pas d'imprimer ma traduction sans votre consentement. Je vous prie donc de me l'accorder, et en même temps de vouloir bien me communiquer, dans ce cas, ce que vous pouvez avoir donné depuis l'édition de 1778³ de vos *Seven Discourses*, ainsi que les notes que vous pouvez juger à propos, Monsieur, d'y ajouter. Vous m'obligerez infiniment en ayant ces complaisances; et c'est un nouveau service que vous rendrez à l'art, qui vous doit déjà tant. Je tacherai de mon côté de rendre ma traduction digne de l'originale. Ainsi, Monsieur, je n'attends que votre réponse pour commencer mon impression sur laquelle je conférerai avec un

¹ *Northcote*, ii, 318. Cf. *Œuvres Complètes d'Antoine-Raphaël Mengs* (Jansen's translation), Paris, 1787, i, 52.

² Cumberland's remarks on Mengs are reprinted by Northcote (ii, 318 *et seq.*).

³ Incorrectly printed 1788 in Cotton's *Notes*, 65, from which the text of this letter has been taken. No other textual changes have been made.

peintre français qui a la traduction italienne de votre ouvrage, dont il ne parle qu'avec enthousiasme.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec la considération la plus distinguée,
Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

JANSEN.

*L'Inspecteur Général de l'Académie Royale de Musique.
Rue de Bondy, No. 23. T.S.V.P.*

P.S.—Si vous aviez, Monsieur, à me faire passer quelque chose soit livre ou papier, je vous prie de l'envoyer à M. Guyon de Saint Prix, Directeur de Diligences de France dans Picadilly, sous une seconde enveloppe à M. St. Georges, Directeur des Messageries Royales à Paris, qui m'a permis de me servir de cette voye.

To this request Sir Joshua willingly consented, consigning to him what the translator wished, as may be seen from the following letter, which is here published for the first time through the courtesy of its present owner, Frederick S. Peck, Esq., of Bolton Court, Barrington, R.I.:

London Oct. 2^d 1786

Dear Sir

I have sent according to your direction all the Discourses since the year 1776. I have likewise inclosed the translation of Fresnoy by Mr. Mason, to which by his desire I added notes. those notes I apprehend may be usefull to Artists as they¹ enter more into the detail of the art than I allowed myself to do in my Discourses

As I have no doubt there is already a translation in French of Fresnoy, you may possibly think it worth while to republish it and add those notes.

I intended sending the Volume of the Seven Discourses but forgot to put it up with the rest. If you have it not² in your possession I will immediatly send it.

The first Discourse was translated into French in the year 1769 and it appeared to me very well done, it was printed de l'Imprimerie de Michel Lambert rue de Cordeliers au Collège de Bourgogne, but if it should not be easily procured I can send you one.

I find I have been guilty of a mistake in not directing the little

¹ The next two words, *treat of*, have been deleted.

² He first intended to write "If you have not got it"; *got* was deleted and *it* inserted in its present position.

Box to Mr. St. George. it is directed to yourself which I hope you will receive safe.

I have only to add that I am very much flatter'd that my Discourses have met with your approbation and think myself much honour'd in having them translated into the French language by your hand

I am with the greatest respect
your most humble
and most obedient servant

JOSHUA REYNOLDS

a Mr. Jansen

Inspecteur General de l'Académie Royale
de Musique Rue de Bondi no. 23

This letter Jansen received eight days later, and on it he drafted his reply:

Paris October 10th. 1786.

This three days ago I received the little box with your Discourses since the year 1776 and the translation of Du Frenoy's poem by Mr. Mason; but I receive only in the moment the letter you favour'd me with the 2^d. of this month. I am very sensible, Sir, at your obliging attention. I will make the best use I can of your works, and hope you will be satisfied of the translation of all your Discourses, as you appear to be of that of the first printed in 1769 by Lambert. I have not seen yet that translation, but hope to find it; else I will take the liberty to ask it you.

I have the volume of your Seven Discourses; and all is yet translated, and ready for the impression with w[h]ich I will begin as soon as I shall have seen that of the first discourse you speak of

You[r] idea, Sear, of joining your notes to the translation of Du Frenoy's poem is very good; and I hope to make one day use of it because that work will then be much more interesting and more usefull for artists.

If you like it, Sear, I will send you my translation from the German of Some Pieces concerning the arts by Winckelmann and of his letters concerning the Discoveries made at Herculan[*e*]um &c.

I hope you will pardon my bad English in favor of my good intention.

I am &c.

Jansen wasted little time in submitting his work to the censor, who approved it on 9 November. A month later

Sir Joshua delivered his thirteenth discourse, and in January, 1787, as soon as it came from the "Printers men", he sent this to him, accompanied by a letter which is in my possession.¹ But the edition as a whole was not ready for publication until the following summer. The *Privilege du Roi*, dated 22 August, was finally registered on 31 August.

An experienced translator, Jansen did his work well. In addition to the thirteen discourses which had by then been delivered he included, not a French translation of Dufresnoy's *Art of Painting*, as Reynolds had suggested, but a résumé of the poem with Sir Joshua's notes appended. Johnson's dedication to the king he omitted, substituting for it one to the members of the Academy, which Reynolds had originally written for the opening address only. The translation itself is intelligent, and a few additional notes are supplied, perhaps by the author himself. The edition is prefaced by a brief account of the formation of the Academy and a laudatory paragraph on the author which illustrates the estimation in which he was held:

Vouloir faire l'éloge que M. Reynolds mérite, tant par ses talens supérieurs comme artiste & comme écrivain sur son art, que par le service qu'il a rendu à sa patrie en parvenant à établir une Académie dont il fait lui-même le principal ornement, ce seroit répéter ce que personne n'ignore, & par conséquent blesser inutilement la modestie de M. Reynolds. Nous nous contenterons donc de remarquer, avec le traducteur Italien des sept premiers Discours, qu'ils sont tous remplis de vues saines, ingénieuses & fines; & que, malgré les discussions abstraites dans lesquelles l'Auteur est quelquefois entraîné par la nature de la matière qu'il traite, les principes dont il se sert sont si simples, si clairs, & présentés avec tant d'ordre & de méthode que les personnes les moins instruites peuvent, en les méditant, se former des idées précises de l'art, ainsi que des beautés qui distinguent les différentes écoles, & particulièrement celles d'Italie.

¹ *Letters*, 172.

As soon as the book was printed Jansen sent the author several copies. Sir Joshua's answer,¹ which escaped my attention when I was editing his letters, is particularly important because of the reference to his plan of bringing out a companion volume to the 1778 edition, a plan which never matured. The opening sentence presumably refers to a request for presentation copies:

Dear Sir!

I have here-with sent you, according to your desire, du Fresnoy's translation, and the volume of Discourses; the second volume will not be completed till next year; that is, those quarto Discourses will not be collected into an octavo volume, till another Discourse is added; which will not be till december 10th. 1788, when I will certainly take care to have them bound in the same manner and sent you.

I return you many thanks for the copies of your translation, which I received safe. I admire the translation very much: *my* approbation is of no great value; but having put it into the hands of some of my friends who are better judges, they speak of it in the highest terms, particularly a french gentleman who resides here.² A connoisseur, and equally a master both of the french and english language, says that it has so much facility and elegance that it has not the appearance of a translation, but reads like an original work; this I apprehend is the highest commendation that a translation can receive.

I confess I am very much flattered by the attention you have given to this work, and very proud I am to see myself strutting in so elegant a dress.

I hope the french artists will think better of it than M. Mengs did. That it has faults enough there is no doubt; but it appears very strange that M. Mengs should think *that* superficial which endeavours to fix the principles of art on the great and general principles of all other arts, and on the invariable conduct of nature.

I am, etc.,

J. REYNOLDS.

London, Nov. 19th. 1787.

¹ Printed in Jansen's *Œuvres Complètes du Chevalier Josué Reynolds*, Paris, 1806, i, x *et seq.*

² In all probability Noel Desenfans, with whom Sir Joshua was intimate. They had dined together on 14 October.

Whatever the French artists may have thought of it, the book found its way into the libraries of the two most important crowned ladies of the day. Marie Antoinette's copy is still to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, though she may never have read it. Catherine the Great, however, did read hers—read it “with the greatest avidity” and pronounced it “the best work that ever was wrote on the subject”. She instructed her ambassador, Count Woronzow (“very little more animated than an oyster”, according to Horace Mann),¹ to present the painter with a jewelled snuff-box accompanied by the following note in her hand: “Pour le Chevalier Reynolds en temoinage du contentement que j’ai ressentie à la lecture de ses excellens discours sur la peinture”,² an object which the recipient used to display with pride on state occasions.

With Jansen Sir Joshua seems to have kept in touch until the end of his life. Shortly before he died, he received from the translator a promise to bring out a complete edition of his writings in French, which was done in 1806.³

Though he did not live long enough to see this, Sir Joshua witnessed the steady growth of his literary fame throughout the continent. His friend the Princess Daschaw planned to translate his writings into Russian,⁴ and he had the satisfaction of knowing that they were read as well in Germany, Italy, and France. He disregarded the Italian proverb that translators are traitors (“I traduttori sono traditori”). We know that he asked Baretti to make the Italian translation; we have his own word to prove that he was proud to see himself strutting in French. Hence in neglecting this phase of his career his biographers have not done for him all that he would

¹ Doran's *'Mann' and Manners at the Court of Florence*, London, 1876, ii, 20.

² Boswell's *Life*, iii, 370.

³ Jansen, *op. cit.* i, vii.

⁴ Cotton's *Notes*, 72.

have wished. Even Malone, who knew him intimately, thus displays his ignorance of the subject: "The first seven of the Discourses have been translated into French, and I believe into Italian; and doubtless a complete translation of all our author's works, in each of those languages, will soon appear."¹ That so close a friend knew no more than this shows, not that the author was unconcerned with his reputation, but that, modest by nature, he kept all these things and pondered them in his heart.

¹ *Works*, i, xlv.



CHAPTER V

CRITIC OF ART

“He is always the same man; the same philosophical, the same artist-like critick, the same sagacious observer, with the same minuteness, without the smallest degree of trifling.”

Burke on Sir Joshua.

Before 1778 Sir Joshua can hardly be considered a man of letters. A few random notes on Shakespeare, a few letters to the *Idler*, and some lectures delivered at the Academy constituted his published writings and were not important enough to make their author famous. With the publication of the collected edition of the discourses came a change, and henceforth the painter spent a considerable amount of his spare time amusing himself with his pen. As was to have been expected, the bulk of his writings referred directly to his profession, and in the remaining fourteen years of his life we find him annotating Dufresnoy's *Art of Painting*, recording his observations on Flemish and Dutch paintings, drawing up on behalf of the Academy addresses to Their Majesties, penning a defence of himself in connection with a quarrel he was having with the Academicians, and jotting down his opinions on theories of beauty or on particular paintings which gave him food for thought. All this of course was in addition to the discourses which he continued to give biennially to students of the Academy.

One of these essays has only recently been identified as Sir Joshua's. Mr Whitley has discovered that the advertisement for Poggi's exhibition of fan painting in

1781, although signed by Poggi, was written by his friend Sir Joshua. What he has written, as Mr Whitley observes, is more than a mere advertisement. It is an essay of some six hundred words, devoted to the proposition "that none of the inferior arts are ever likely to be improved unless undertaken by men who may be said to be above them; such persons will infuse into those lower departments a style of elegance which will raise them far above their natural rank".¹

In the summer of the year in which he wrote this Sir Joshua, accompanied by his friend Philip Metcalfe, journeyed to the Netherlands to examine Dutch and Flemish pictures. With these he had never been impressed, adopting from writers like Count Algarotti the opinion that "they aimed more at charming the senses than at captivating the understanding".² Ten years before he made this journey Sir Joshua had declared that Rubens, greatest of Flemish painters, was grosser than the Venetians "and carried all their mistaken methods to a far greater excess". The Dutch, he continued, had still more "locality". "Some inferior dexterity, some extraordinary mechanical power is apparently that from which they seek distinction."³ Definitely prejudiced, then, against such pictures, he set out to discover whether or not he had been justified in his censures. The diary of his trip was printed by Leslie and Taylor, who also included two letters Sir Joshua wrote to Burke while travelling.⁴ Since the publication of my edition of the letters a third to Burke has come to light, which is now in my possession.

Rotterdam Aug. 10. 1781

Dear Sir

I wrote from Brussels in a great hurry and now that I have more leasure have nothing that appears to me worth writing

¹ *Whitley*, ii, 111 *et seq.* ² *Cf. post*, p. 121.

³ *Works*, i, 103 *et seq.* ⁴ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 329-38, 645 *et seq.*

about except the Pictures and that is too long an affair to begin upon, it has raised my Idea of Rubens upon the whole I shall have materials to form a more correct judgment of the rank he ought to hold when I have seen Dusseldorp where we intend going.

Rotterdam has a more extraordinary appearance, is more striking than any thing we have hitherto seen, in many parts it has the appearance of Venice. But the Keys¹ are magnificent, rows of fine houses, high at least and fine in their half a mile long perfectly in a strait line with a Row of Elms between the houses and the ships which lye close to the Quay so that the branches touch the masts whilst on the other side the Canal the shipping have for their background the rows of Trees with houses appearing between them this uncommon mixture of Trees houses and ships you may imagine has an extraordinary effect.

The Country is not calculated for a Landskip painter, tho I am no great Enemy to strait lines yet here is a little too much of it, their dykes a[re] miles long without the least curviture but it is still very striking, and their patience and perseverance to throw up such a quantity of earth, or cut such canals must raise the admiration of every traveller.

I observe allmost all the houses which have not been lately built are out of the perpendicular and lean forward I think full as much as the tower at Pisa and would be as much remarked if they were as high.

The horses here as well as in Flanders a[re] nobler animal[s] than ours, they have more substance the Cows and oxen are of a much neater make they are all spotted black and white among many hundreds which we saw comeing hither we saw but one red cow—

Here is nothing to be seen in the Picture way so we shall leave it tomorrow for the Hague—I wish I had had the precaution to have made memorandums of whatever occurred but sitting down to write and not mention[ing]² anything of pictures where I have made very copious observations, I dont know where to begin for every thing is to a certain degree particular, the women here seem better than those we left at Antwerp, what the Gentlewomen

¹ In endeavouring to correct his spelling here he has worn a hole through the page. Where he used the word a few lines later he first spelled it "Key".

² This word occurs at the end of a line. The last three letters were written off the page, the loop of the "g" alone appearing.

are there we had no means of knowing they being all in the country, but the ordinary people are the most ordinary I ever say I think without one exception they were all ugly.

We have had a very pleasant tour hitherto and are very well pleased with each other as much leasure as I thought I had I find the messenger is come for my letter so am obliged to conclude

Yours most affectionately

J REYNOLDS

This letter belongs to Antwerp according to promise¹ but we travellers cannot do everything just as they choose

A comparison of the diary and this letter reveals that despite his regrets at having made no "memorandums", he was writing to Burke with his diary open before him. Thus on the 5th of August when at Antwerp he noted: "The horses of Flanders like Rubens, horses nobler still than ours." So at least the entry is given by Taylor, although I am inclined to read the antepenultimate word *stile*, Sir Joshua's usual way of spelling *style*. The following day his comment is: "The ordinary people very ordinary, without one exception." Apparently he resolved to make his entries fuller for the future, for the day after this letter was written he enters the following reminders: "Milk-pails. Boats through meadows. Trees, but not a trace of their value round houses."

His observations on straight lines were echoed in a letter he wrote to Beattie in the following year: "All lines are either curved or straight, and that which partakes equally of each is the medium or average of all lines and therefore more beautiful than any other line; notwithstanding this, an artist would act preposterously that should take every opportunity to introduce this line in his works as Hogarth himself did, who appears to have taken an aversion to a straight line. His pictures there-

¹ The preceding letter, which was sold at Sotheby's 8 April, 1935, ended with the announcement that they were setting out for Antwerp, "where if anything occurs you will hear from me again". Cf. *Letters*, 82.

fore want that line of firmness and stability which is produced by straight lines."¹

Sir Joshua declares that he has made very copious observations on the pictures which he is seeing. These he made in an octavo notebook, bound in vellum, which was sold at Sotheby's, 25 July, 1932. The remarks he noted in it are of the scantiest, merely enough to aid his memory for a short time. They were then expanded in a quarto notebook, similarly bound, which was sold in the same lot at Sotheby's. As far as I could judge from a cursory examination, the expanded notes do not greatly differ from what Malone later published. They are written hastily, and the pages are filled with deletions. Curiously enough, he has dated his departure from London 24 June and his notes on Bruges 28 June. He should have written *July* rather than *June*, and his error suggests that the larger of the two volumes was not used until some time after his return to London.

Four years later the Emperor, who had imitated Henry VIII in dissolving many of the religious foundations in Flanders, sold the pictures which he had plundered. In order to inspect these, Sir Joshua made a second journey shortly before the sale. Malone, who mistakenly dated this 1783, has been followed, I believe, by all biographers, although Tom Taylor rightly questions the date in a footnote.² Sir Joshua's letters to the Duke of Rutland indicate that he left London on the 20th of July, 1785, and returned within a month. Boswell's journal supplies additional evidence. On the evening of 19 July he called on Sir Joshua. "Most fortunate; found him still at table with Miss Palmer, Burke,

¹ *Letters*, 92. Northcote (ii, 54) records as one of his master's remarks: "A straight avenue is grand; a serpentine line elegant."

² *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 419. Northcote, Leslie, Cotton, Phillips, Benoit, Pulling, d'Esterre-Keeling, and Lord Gower follow Malone without attempting to verify his statement.

and Metcalf. He and Metcalf were to set out for Holland next day." On 10 August he "breakfasted with Sir Joshua Reynolds *tête-à-tête* and heard an account of his late jaunt to the Continent".¹

On his second journey he again took with him an octavo notebook, which is now in the Royal Academy. He probably took as well the notes which he had formerly made on these pictures, for when in Antwerp he wrote: "Of Mr. Stevens Collection I have little to add to what I have said before of the Roman Charity." He must have recorded his observations on his return to his hotel, after he had seen the pictures and read what he had said of them four years earlier.

On viewing the pictures of Rubens a second time, they appeared much less brilliant than they had done on the former inspection. He could not for some time account for this circumstance; but when he recollected, that when he first saw them, he had his note-book in his hand, for the purpose of writing down short remarks, he perceived what had occasioned their now making a less impression in this respect than they had done formerly. By the eye passing immediately from the white paper to the picture, the colours derived uncommon richness and warmth. For want of this foil, they afterwards appeared comparatively cold.²

What notes he took on his second journey are for the most part very brief. He sees, for example, at Mr Orion's house a Nativity by Jordaens. His comment is "capricious Comp in the Tintoret", which being translated means "a capricious composition in the manner of Tintoretto".³ His spelling sometimes gives the reader a shock, as when he speaks of a self-portrait by Rembrandt, who has his "palate" in his hand. And because of his lack of punctuation, he at times seems to be adding

¹ *Boswell Papers*, xvi, 111, 119. The notebook referred to in the next paragraph shows that he was at Brussels 25 July, Antwerp 29 and 30 July, and Ghent 3 August.

² *Works*, i, lxxii *et seq.*

³ *Id.* ii, 269.

to Biblical history. "Christ mock'd by M. Coxcie, in the dry manner" and "Christ scourged by Segers" might perplex a student of the New Testament.

While examining pictures he was annoyed at the inefficient way in which the catalogues had been prepared. On the fly-leaf of his notebook he scrawled: "vexatious to see collection with printed Catalogue Raisonnee not worth a farth[ing]." The line which follows is illegible, but the entry serves as an introduction to what is written at the back of the book. It proves that he contemplated publishing a more detailed account of the pictures which he was seeing.

what is here given to the public is little more than a copy of my common place book wrote on the spot which may serve as apology for want of correctness or regularity of composition. If it should be asked why I did not put those notes more in order the answer is very ready I have not time & if I had waited till I had time probably they never would have appeared at all, such as they are, they are better than nothing if the young student[s] for whom it is principally intended when they make this tour take it in their [? portmanteaux] it may help to form their tast[e], to make them consider the art [of] what they might otherwise overlook

I conclude that whoever reads this the Pictures or at least the prints are before them otherwise it must be unintelligible

In addition to this, which was obviously to serve as preface, there are other remarks written in the back of the notebook. There is, for example, the genesis of his character sketch of Rubens:

no man understood the language of the painter better than Rubens he knew it gramatically and was allways sure of his hand.

It is to be regretted that the engravers of his works have neglected what is so excellent in Rubens, and what would make his print[s] a Skool of that part of the art. I mean the keeping of the masses they ought to imitate the colours of the drapery and their gradation.

It might be usefull to students when there is any account of the management of the light and shadow or of the colours to have the print before them by which means they will feel the reasons of the conduct of Rubens.

It is for this reason I have mentiond all those print[s] which have come to my knowledge

Following this is a criticism of one of Rubens's contemporaries:

The Pictures of Gaspar de Crayer are the work of a tradesman that followed his art as a Trade & produced Pictures not much to be blamed nor praised but of no mark or likelihood¹ [He] has nothing original or excellence of any kind to attract notice the[y] appear the work of a tradesman that never read. [He] has no music in his soul no enthusiasm no poetry fancy or Genius

While viewing the Flemish pictures and endeavouring to form an opinion as to their relative merits, he devoted some of his time to reading what others had written on the subject. One of these books, as is proved from a letter he wrote three months later,² was J. F. M. Michel's *Histoire de la Vie de Rubens*, a book published at Brussels in 1771. It is highly eulogistic. As an example of the writer's style and sentiments the following will suffice:

le grand coloris du Titien, le clair-obscur, & la distribution des lumières du Correggio, la noblesse des attitudes de Raphaël Urbino, les riches vêtements de Paulo Veronese, & la grande composition & vérité des caractères d'Annibal Carrache; c'est même cette glorieuse combinaison, qui fait le motif fondamental à soutenir, que Rubens a surpassé tous les Peintres de l'Univers, tant ceux qui l'ont précédé, que ceux qui l'ont suivi.³

This excerpt could be matched by many similar passages in the book, and is the sort of criticism that instigated

¹ "A fellow of no mark nor likelihood", *Henry IV*, Part I, III, ii. Sir Joshua had quoted this in his fifth discourse (*Works*, i, 141).

² *Letters*, 143.

³ *Op. cit.* 345. No textual corrections have been made.

Sir Joshua to pen the following, which is found at the back of the notebook:

The indiscriminate praise that it is for ever the custom of writers to give to their favorites hurts the cause of Criticism the reason of a person undertakes to write [h]is Character is certainly because he is a favorit[e] and that being profest they they think it right to confirm the proverb that love is blind which they really are or appear to have an interest in saying nothing but what shall be in praise of their Hero. few people like my friend Falconet undertake to translate a writer for the sake of discovering his Authors ignorance of the subject on which he writes

Falconet's medallion portrait of Reynolds is reproduced as frontispiece to the first volume of the biography by Leslie and Taylor. His translation of Pliny Sir Joshua had quoted with approval in his eighth discourse.

We have seen that in 1785 Reynolds planned to publish his commentaries on Dutch and Flemish paintings. But, as he remarks in his tentative preface, he lacked the necessary time to throw what he had written into respectable form. It was not until the end of his life, when his approaching blindness prevented him from painting, that he seems to have turned to his notebooks once more with the intention of publishing them. Because of his failing eyesight he was not able to do much revising. Instead he seems to have called upon his friends to help make a fair copy of the notes he originally took. The manuscript used by Malone and the printer is now in the British Museum. It is a folio bound in calf and contains various sizes of sheets written in various hands. Many passages have been corrected by Reynolds, and there are as well notes in Malone's hand.

When printing the *Journey* Malone took great liberties with the dedication to Metcalfe. The original, two folio pages, is in the Royal Academy.

I send you put together with as much order as the little time I can spare from my business will permit, the notes which were made abroad on the Pictures which we saw together, I present

them to you as they are properly your due; less tast, less patience or less politeness on your part would have prevented those notes from appearing or even being made,¹ the pleasure which a mere dilettanti derives from seeing the works of art ceases when he has receiv'd the full effect of the Work, but the Painter has the means of amusing himself much longer by examining the principles on which the Artist wrought. to which ever of your good qualities I am to impute your long attendance whilst I was examining those works & employing myself in writing notes, I am sure it merits my warmest acknowledgment. nor is it an inconsiderable advantage to see such works in company with one who has a general rectitude of tast; and who is not a professor of the art. x² we are too apt to forget that the Art is not intended solely for the pleasure of pefessors, the opinions of others are never to be totally neglected³ it is by their means that perhaps even the receiv'd rules of art may be corrected. at least there is a greater chance than from the judgment of Painters who being educated in the same manner are likely enough to judge from the same principles and are liable to the same prejudices or to be governd by the influence of an authority which may perhaps have no foundation in our nature.

Of the merit of Sir Joshua's *Journey* little need be said. It is always of interest to hear the judgment of a good painter on paintings, and Sir Joshua, unlike many of the great painters, was gifted with a mind which though not original was eminently judicial. Hence his comments are worth reading, even to-day. They are, of course, merely notes, but they reveal "the same philosophical, the same artist-like critick, the same sagacious observer", as Burke said of them in the quotation which heads this chapter.⁴

¹ Originally: "if I had accompanyd a person of less tast those notes never would have been taken."

² The "x" refers to a quotation from Cicero's *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* which is written on the verso of the preceding page: "ad picturam probandam says Cicero adhibentur etiam inscii faciendi, cum aliqua solertia judicandi." Sir Joshua's probable source for this is noted below (p. 80).

³ Originally: "the opinions of the ignorant and unlearned in that art" which was altered for obvious reasons.

⁴ *Works*, i, lxxi n.

Reynolds the student of literature is seen more than once in the notes. He likens "old Brueghel" to Donne "in opposition to the modern versification which carrying no weight possesses that false gallop of verses such as Shakespeare ridicules in 'As you like it'."¹ He quotes Milton when discussing Rubens's picture of the fallen angels, and when criticizing the same artist's *Last Supper* at Mechlin, he thus illustrates his dislike of the principal figure:

it is here as in poetry; a perfect character makes but an insipid figure; the genius is cramped and confined, and cannot indulge itself in those liberties which give spirit to the character, and of course interest the spectator. It has been observed, that Milton has not succeeded in the speeches which he has given to God the Father, or to Christ, so well as in those which he has put in the mouths of the rebel angels.²

To illustrate that "simplicity is no match against the splendour of Rubens" Sir Joshua contemplated referring to Chesterfield's letters. After declaring that the best pictures of the Italian school would seem outclassed if hung near those of Rubens, he originally wrote:

they certainly ought not but it is like the powers of Eloquence that bears down every thing before it, it reminds one of what Lord Chesterfield says of his own speech, on the changing of the style, in comparison of Lord Morton's, who tho he had more knowledge on the subject, yet, not having such a power of lan-

¹ I quote from the earlier form of this sentence in Mary Palmer's hand (f. 171 of the printer's copy in the British Museum). Originally, immediately after this passage was the following sentence, deleted by the cautious and tactful Reynolds: "It is certain the modern painters have not overburthend their works with thought." Cf. *Works*, ii, 408 *et seq.* The Shakespearian reference is to the speech of Touchstone in Act III, scene 2: "This is the very false gallop of verses." The use of Donne as an illustration may have been suggested by Johnson's remarks on the "metaphysical poets", which Reynolds was reading shortly before his first trip to Flanders. Cf. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, xi, 427.

² *Works*, ii, 270 *et seq.*, 400.

guage or elegance of manner, Lord Chesterfield being possessed of those qualities to an eminent degree, he received all the applause & few perhaps in the house perceived the superiority in Lord Morton. Lord Chesterfield himself did & acknowledged it in a letter to his son.¹

While preparing his notes for publication, Sir Joshua seems to have been reading Algarotti's essay on painting. Chapter xv, "Of the Importance of the Public Judgement", emphasizes what Reynolds wrote in his dedication to Metcalfe, and among his illustrations Algarotti chose the particular passage from Cicero which Sir Joshua thought of quoting. That the two men might have come upon this quotation independently is of course not impossible, but in his *Character of Rubens* appended to the *Journey* Sir Joshua makes this comment:

He has avoided that tawdry effect which one would expect such gay colours to produce; in this respect resembling Barocci more than any other painter. What was said of an antient painter, may be applied to those two artists,—that their figures look as if they fed upon roses.

Hear now the words of Algarotti, when discoursing upon colouring:

He would not feed his figures with roses, as an ancient painter of Greece shrewdly expressed it, but with good beef; a difference, which the learned eye of a modern writer could perceive between the colouring of Barocci and that of Titian.²

Had Sir Joshua taken the story from Pliny or Plutarch or Daniel Webb, would he have used the same loose phrasing of "antient painter"?

From what was said earlier it might be thought that

¹ Add. MSS. Eg. 2165, f. 18. This passage was cancelled. Cf. *Works*, ii, 263.

² Count Algarotti's *Essay on Painting*, London, 1764, 59, 144. *Works*, ii, 426. "The learned eye of a modern writer" was that of Daniel Webb, who in his *Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (London, 1760, 85) quotes Euphranor's comment and adds "What more could we say of Titian and Barocci?" Cf. Boswell's *Life*, iv, 104.

Reynolds had not considered publishing his observations until his second trip. The case was otherwise, if we are to take Malone's word. In one of Sir Joshua's notes on Dufresnoy, written early in 1782, he compares Rubens to Titian. Malone refers the reader to a fuller treatment of the subject in the *Journey*: "The fair transcript of that Journey having been written about the same time that these notes were composed, our author took from thence the illustration which he has made use of here."¹ This, if taken literally, would mean that in 1781, shortly after his return from the first trip, Reynolds made a fair transcript of his comments, presumably for publication, but that he laid this aside until his second trip four years later, when he expanded what he had already written. The dating could be done without much trouble if an examination of the notebooks recently sold at Sotheby's were permitted. It is worth mentioning in this connection that one of Sir Joshua's notes on Dufresnoy introduces Baroccio, who "falls under the criticism that was made on an ancient Painter, that his figures looked as if they fed upon roses".²

The notes to Dufresnoy were written partly to encourage a friend, partly because of an interest since childhood in the *Art of Painting*. One of Sir Joshua's closest friends was William Mason, a poet who is read to-day only by the most ardent students of the period. Dull, lazy, a trifle too avaricious, he nevertheless commanded a certain amount of respect in his own day. Apparently because of his laziness, when writing the life of Gray he stumbled upon "an excellent plan" of biography, which was adopted by the greatest of all biographers, and his poems were successful enough to add considerably to his income. In 1755 he had met Reynolds, and thereafter the two were on terms of intimacy which were the stronger because Mason was an amateur

¹ *Works*, iii, 128 n.

² *Id.* iii, 178.

painter. At one of their meetings the poet mentioned that he had at one time translated Dufresnoy's *Art of Painting* into English verse, but had decided it was not worth publishing. Reynolds asked to see it and offered to illustrate it with notes if Mason would revise the translation. The offer was accepted, and at the end of 1780 the poet left his manuscript with the painter. Walpole, anticipating great things of Sir Joshua, "who will execute his task so well", borrowed the translation from him early in 1781 before the notes were begun. Sir Joshua postponed his work, journeyed to the Netherlands in the summer, and confessed as the year was drawing to a close that he had not yet started writing. "I asked Sir Joshua t'other night if he had done anything towards your Notes", writes Walpole to Mason; "he said No, but he had some ideas in his head, though at present he was busy on arranging his own notes taken in Flanders." The actual writing must have been done soon after this, for in March, 1782, Mason told Walpole that Reynolds had completed his notes.¹ Reynolds himself refers to his work in a letter written at the end of that month, declaring that he had been very busy completing them because the book was otherwise ready for the press.

In spite of this statement, the translation was not published until 1783.² It is advertised in the *London Chronicle* of 13-15 February; Walpole thanks Mason on 10 February for his copy, and two days later Sir Joshua writes that "Mr. Mason has at last published his translation of Fresnoy". On 15 February the book inspired the following verses, written to Mason by Hayley:

Dear Brother of the tuneful Art!
To whom I justly bend;

¹ *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, xi, 363, 377, 383; xii, 124; *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 352 n.; *Works*, iii, 10. Cf. *Letters*, 93, 100.

² Leslie Stephen, in his article on Mason in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, gives 1782 as the date of publication. He was probably misled by Mason's epistle to Sir Joshua, which is dated 10 October, 1782.

I prize with a fraternal Heart
 The pleasing Gift you send.
 With Pride, by Envy undebased,
 My English spirit views,
 How far your Elegance of Taste
 Improves a Gallic Muse.
 I thought that Muse but meanly drest,
 When her stiff Gown was Latin:
 But you have turn'd her Groggram Vest
 Into fine Folds of Sattin.
 Mild Reynolds looks with liberal Favor
 On your adopted Girl;
 And to the graceful Robe you gave her,
 Adds rich Festoons of Pearl.

This effusion was sent by Mason to Reynolds and is still in the possession of one of his collateral descendants, Rupert Colomb, Esq., who has lent it to the Royal Academy.

My copy of the volume was originally owned by one of the more important bluestockings of the day. It is inscribed in a bold hand: "To Mrs. Vesey with Sir Joshua Reynolds Comp^{ts}." Another copy he presented to Dr Johnson, who acknowledged the gift on 19 February by a letter and a set of the new edition of his *Lives of the Poets*, which had been published a fortnight earlier: Sir

Mr. Mason's address to you deserves no great praise, it is lax without easiness, and familiar without gayety. Of his Translation I think much more favourably, so far as I have read, which is not a great part. I find him better than exact, he has his authours distinctness and clearness, without his dryness and sterility.

As I suspect you to have lost your *Lives* I desire you to accept of these volumes and to keep them somewhere out of harm's way, that you may sometimes remember the writer.¹

¹ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Hill, ii, 286 *et seq.*, altered in accordance with corrections kindly supplied by Dr R. W. Chapman, who owns the letter. Hill's note to the second paragraph is incorrect. The original edition of the *Lives*, now in the possession of Dr Chapman, Reynolds must have received several years before this. The volumes which accompanied this letter are now in my possession.

Johnson's criticism of the translation is lenient enough. A couplet like the following, for example, can hardly be considered poetry:

Whate'er the form which our first glance commands,
Whether in front or in profile he stands,

nor do the following lines seem free from "dryness and sterility":

The Portrait claims from imitative art
Resemblance close in each minuter part,
And this to give, the ready hand and eye
With playful skill the kindred features ply.

To be sure, "the Latin of the original", as Malone later observed, "is so crabbed and unclassical, that it is painful to look at it, and to sound it would, I am sure, break one's teeth".¹ Nevertheless the translator merits little praise when in order to twist his thoughts into heroic couplets he is forced to transpose subject and predicate as in this example:

These all displease, and the disgusted eye
Nauseates the tame and irksome symmetry.

Our concern, however, is not with the work of Mason, but with the notes which were supplied by Sir Joshua. We have seen that Dufresnoy's poem was one of the first books on the theory of painting to attract the youthful Reynolds. Nor had it been discarded with childish things. The early discourses are permeated with the ideas suggested by it, and while evolving his own theories on the fine arts, he thought much on the ideas advanced in this poem. His notes then may be considered the result of many years of thinking. Naturally enough there are numerous echoes of what had been expressed in one or

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, xiii, 8, 1894 (Charlemont), ii, 254. Cf. *Works*, iii, 47, 72 et seq.

another of the discourses. And since his annotations were made at the time he was revising his Flemish journal, there are many allusions to the painters of Holland and Flanders, particularly to Rubens.

Unlike the majority of his writings the notes contain but a single allusion to literature:

It must be remembered, that the component parts of the most perfect Statue never can excel nature,—that we can form no idea of beauty beyond her works: we can only make this rare assemblage; an assemblage so rare, that if we are to give the name of Monster to what is uncommon, we might, in the words of the Duke of Buckingham, call it

A faultless Monster which the world ne'er saw.¹

I doubt if Sir Joshua had read the *Essay on Poetry* in which this line appears. It is far more likely that he took it from Johnson's life of that poet, where it is included as a description of a perfect character.² Johnson had sent Sir Joshua his *Lives of the Poets* as soon as they were published, and this particular life was not published until 1781. Presumably Sir Joshua was reading it when he was writing his notes to Dufresnoy.

But the most interesting observations are those wherein the writer becomes more personal. Such a one, for example, is that in which he recounts his method of study when a student at Venice; in another, although he does not say so, we may surmise that he had in mind his one meeting with Pope: "those who are born crook-backed have commonly a peculiar form of the lips and expression in the mouth, that strongly denotes that deformity."³ An earlier note is based upon another experience he had

¹ *Works*, iii, 113.

² *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Hill, Oxford, 1905, ii, 176. Reynolds could have found it in Dryden's *Parallel Between Poetry and Painting* (*Works*, iii, 239) or in his friend "Hermes" Harris's *Three Treatises*, London, 1772, 215.

³ *Works*, iii, 123, 147. Cf. Prior's *Life of Malone*, London, 1860, 429.

had, although in printing it he disguised the personal element. "An instance occurs to me of a subject which was recommended to a Painter by a very distinguished person, but who, as it appears, was but little conversant with the art." The subject recommended, he continues, was the famous interview between James II and Bedford. He then gives his reasons as to why such a subject was not suitable for a painting. Less than a month after this note was published, Lord Hardwicke wrote to Sir Joshua, apparently referring to it and suggesting as a better one the interview which the same king had had with the Duke of Monmouth. Reynolds replied on the 5th of March that this would be more suitable, but that "even this has scarce enough of intelligible action". He adds: "It was the late Charles Townsend that recommended to me the interview of The Duke of Bedford and K. James as a subject for a Picture."¹

Shortly before the publication of Sir Joshua's notes to Dufresnoy his personal and official life was affected by the death of one of his oldest friends, George Michael Moser. Born in Switzerland, the enameller had spent almost all of his long life in England, where he had taken an active part in developing British art. Reynolds had met him when a student of Hudson's, and had been associated with him on various committees of artists formed before and after the organization of the Royal Academy. On Moser's death in January, 1783, Sir Joshua wrote an obituary notice, which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of 30 January and is printed by Malone from Sir Joshua's manuscript.² The eulogy, which brings out concisely and clearly Moser's personality and accomplishments, is of interest in that it reveals the portrait-painter using words rather than oils as his medium. "Portraits," he once remarked, "as well as

¹ *Letters*, 102; *Works*, iii, 104 *et seq.*

² *Works*, i, xlvi *et seq.*

written characters of men, should be decidedly marked, otherwise they will be insipid."¹

This was not his first appearance as a writer of "public testimonials". Seven years earlier Mrs Parker, wife of one of his childhood friends, had died soon after giving birth to a daughter. She had sat several times to Reynolds, who admired her not only for her beauty but for her "amiable disposition, her softness and gentleness of manners". On her death he wrote a character-sketch of her, which was printed in the *Public Advertiser* of 29 December, 1775. This has recently been reprinted by Mr Whitley,² who furnishes additional information concerning it. Sir Joshua praised Mrs Parker for her "habitual, uniform, and quiet" virtues, but made no allusion to her extraordinary beauty. After he had admitted being the author, a friend remarked to him: "I suppose by your silence on that article the lady was plain in her person?" "Upon my honour," replied the painter, "I was so wholly engrossed by the idea of her wonderful merit that I totally forgot her exterior charms."

At this time Northcote was a student at Leicester Fields and in his letters to his brother he thrice mentions the character-sketch. The first two of these merely note that it was written in a great hurry, was published in several newspapers, and would soon appear in the magazines. The third reference is the source of the anecdote which he later incorporated in his biography. "In the last months Gentleman's Magazine you will see Sir Joshua's Charecter of M^{rs} parker but the printer has taken the liberty of making some alteration which he

¹ *Northcote*, ii, 55. Northcote's source for this was probably the commonplace book which is now in my possession. The remark, which is there found on the verso of leaf 52, doubtless derived from Pope's commentary on Homer. Cf. *post*, p. 213.

² *Whitley*, ii, 297.

thought was for the better but instead of that has spoilt it. I beleive it is only one word he has changed but Sir Joshua said It had quite spoilt the whole and Mr Whiteford compair'd it to a pot of Broath over the fire when a lump of soot from the chimney falls into it the whole mess is spoilt."¹

Northcote reprints the notice, not as he says "in its original form", but as it appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of March, 1776. He was apparently unaware of the fact that this had been altered by the author. Mr Whitley was the first to indicate this, pointing out that the sketch as it appeared in the *Public Advertiser* lacked the following passage, obviously added because of the sarcastic comment quoted above: "Her person was eminently beautiful; but the expression of her countenance was far above all beauty that proceeds from regularity of features only. The gentleness and benevolence of her disposition were so naturally impressed on every look and motion, that without any affected effort or assumed courtesy, she was sure to make every one her friend that had ever spoke to her, or even seen her." Northcote confesses ignorance as to what the printer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* altered. There are a number of slight differences between the original and the later form. The only change of importance, except for what has already been quoted, is no mere verbal one such as Northcote mentions. In the version published in the *Public Advertiser* a sentence reads: "if there had existed a being of so black and malignant a disposition as to wish to wound so fair an object it must have searched in vain for a weak part wherein to inflict the venom." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* we read: "if there had existed so depraved a being as to wish to wound so fair a character, the most artful malignity must have searched in vain for

¹ From the unpublished portion of a letter in the Royal Academy, written 4 April, 1776. Cf. *Northcote*, ii, 15.

a weak part." This is so obviously an improvement that it can hardly be the alteration which disturbed the painter. But whether or not it was, Sir Joshua displays in this incident a sensitiveness regarding his literary style which shows that he was already jealous of his reputation as a writer.

The two notebooks mentioned above (pp. 73, 81) have been acquired by me just as this volume is to be published. The octavo contains brief notes on and sketches from the pictures seen at Antwerp and was obviously carried into the galleries. The notebook which is in the Royal Academy (*ante*, 74) served the same purpose for Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges. Probably there is in existence at least one other notebook of the same sort for the other places visited. I now believe that the one which is in the Academy was originally used on the first trip (1781) but was taken as well on the second trip (1785), at which time the painter made a few additions to it, including the dates and the reference to Stevens (*ante*, 74 and note). [*Stevens*, incidentally, should have been corrected by Reynolds to *Peters* (*Works*, ii, 334, 336).] The quarto is an expansion of both these octavos with the addition of a few pages on the pictures at Mechlin. From this and, presumably, from another like it which contained the rest of the notes, the fair copy in the British Museum (*ante*, 77) was made. Without any question the expanded notes were written some time after Sir Joshua returned to England, thus accounting for his having written *June* rather than *July*, and it is to the quarto, then, that Malone alludes in the sentence quoted above on p. 81.



CHAPTER VI

CRITIC OF LITERATURE

"There was a polish in the exterior of Sir Joshua, illustrative of the Gentleman and the Scholar; he was a critic in the Classics, and knew Xenophon and Grotius, as well as Du Fresnoy."

"*Anthony Pasquin*" in *The World*, 15 September, 1792.

At the beginning of the preceding chapter it was suggested that Sir Joshua hardly qualified as man of letters until his first seven discourses had been collected. We have seen that he was engaged in revising these for the octavo edition in 1777 and that in the same year a friend of his praises him because he

Has of *two* Arts attain'd the lawrel'd Heights;
Paints with a Pen, and with a Pencil Writes!¹

Another proof that at this time his literary inclinations were apparent is an unpublished note written in 1777 by Mrs Thrale: "Sir Joshua is indeed sufficiently puffed up with the Credit he has acquired for his written Discourses, a Praise he is more pleased with than that he obtains by his Profession; besides that he seems to set up as a Sort of Patron to Literature; so that no Book goes rapidly thro' a first Edition now, but the Author is at Reynolds's table in a Trice."²

Although Mrs Thrale is not an unprejudiced witness, there can be no doubt as to the justness of her observa-

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. xvi.

² HM. *Thraliana*, i, 133, printed by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

tion. If he had not been proud to see himself "strutting" in print, this book would not have been written, and there is plenty of evidence to prove that he became "a Sort of Patron to Literature". At his table Boswell met "a greater number of literary men, than at any other"; Sir Joshua's house, we are told, was considered "a common centre of union for the great, the accomplished, the learned, and the ingenious".¹ According to Courtenay, peers temporal and spiritual, "physicians, lawyers, actors, and musicians, composed the motley groupe, and played their parts without dissonance or discord".² Malone declares that Sir Joshua's table "for above thirty years exhibited an assemblage of all the talents of Great-Britain and Ireland; there being during that period scarce a person in the three kingdoms distinguished for his attainments in literature or the arts, or for his exertions at the bar, in the senate, or the field, who was not occasionally found there".³ Four years after Reynolds died, Farington wrote: "how difficult it would be to establish a plan for collecting select Society in the way Sir Joshua Reynolds carried his on. Malone only knows three persons who could undertake it; and each is unfit in many respects. . . . Sir Joshua Reynolds. . . relished all the varieties of character & knowledge, and assuming little himself each person was encouraged to conversation."⁴

Of the conversation that passed at his table the best description is Courtenay's:

Politics and party were never introduced. Literary subjects were discussed with good sense, taste, and fancy, without pedantic, tiresome dissertations. Wit and humour occasionally enlivened the festive board; but story-telling, premeditated *bon-mots*, and studied witticisms, were not tolerated for a moment. Sir Joshua was excellently calculated for promoting lively rational conversation. His mind was active, perpetually at work. He aimed at

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 65; i, 1.

² *Northcote*, ii, 95.

³ *Works*, i, lxxxii *et seq.*

⁴ Farington's *Diary*, i, 136.

originality, and threw out observations and sentiments as new, which had been often discussed by various authors; for his knowledge was principally acquired by conversation, and therefore superficial. However, he was a most pleasing, amiable companion; his manners easy, conciliating, and unaffected. He had great good sense, and an exquisite correct taste; and if his ideas were not always new, they were often set off by liveliness of imagination; and his conversation abounded in pleasing and interesting anecdotes.¹

But this characterization of Sir Joshua's conversation should be somewhat qualified, to judge from several curt entries in the diary of William Windham. On 9 August, 1786, after dining with Reynolds, he wrote: "I did not feel disposed to talk much till after tea. Subject started about chance, on which Sir Joshua was teaching his grandmother to suck eggs, by beginning himself with an addled one." And a week later he wrote: "Thought closely and successfully on the principle which Sir Joshua fancies himself to have made out of the beauty of a circle: causes, certain or possible, numerous; that which he supposes, he does not understand, and amounts to little when it is understood."²

However we rate his abilities as a debater, there is no doubt that he was most skilful as an interlocutor. When he himself opens his *Two Dialogues* with the aside that he will bring Johnson out, he is unquestionably writing fact rather than fiction. And when he was not trying to "bring out" one of the company, he was usually content to follow up the preceding remark with a brief comment. Boswell once said: "Sir Joshua compleats a saying. He is like a Jeweller. You bring him a diamond. He cuts it, and makes it much more brilliant." The analogy is not a good one, for although he was in the habit of completing the remarks of others, he would have been the first to deny that what he said was brilliant. For a far better characterization the following comment, also by Boswell, will

¹ *Northcote*, ii, 94.

² *Windham's Diary*, ed. Baring, London, 1866, 84 *et seq.*

serve: "Sir Joshua, *who allways makes just and delicate remarks*, observed that all young Writers tried Pastoral because it is a species of composition for which no knowledge of life is requisite."¹

By surrounding himself with famous men of letters and by making just and delicate remarks, Sir Joshua won for himself a certain amount of recognition as a literary critic, even from the great Dr Johnson. Johnson once discoursed on the embarrassment of men in his position when inexperienced authors submitted their work for criticism. If the manuscript, however worthless, is commended, the author "when mankind are hunting him with a cannister at his tail, can say, 'I would not have published, had not Johnson, or Reynolds, or Musgrave, or some other good judge commended the work'."² It can be argued that Sir Joshua is included among the good judges because he was sitting near the speaker at the time. Yet Johnson was apparently quite sincere in putting his friend in this category. "Talking of melancholy, he said, 'Some men, and very thinking men too, have not those vexing thoughts. Sir Joshua Reynolds is the same all the year round'." He considered him then a *thinking* man. "When Reynolds tells me something, I consider myself as possessed of an idea the more." And he always thought of him "as one of his literary school".³

If this was the estimate of Johnson, it is not surprising that it was shared by many other contemporaries. Before he published his writings Goldsmith was accustomed to reading them to his closest friend. Burke read to him in manuscript his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Sir Joshua heard Sheridan's *School for Scandal* read aloud before it was acted and was one of the jury which passed judgment on Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.

¹ *Boswell Papers*, vi, 62; xv, 184. The italics are mine.

² *Boswell's Life*, iii, 320.

³ *Id.* iii, 5, 369; *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, i, 225.

He was asked to criticize several of Crabbe's poems and offered constructive suggestions to Beattie which were incorporated in the *Dissertation on Imagination*. Similar critical opinions were sent to Thomas Astle, the antiquarian, Bishop Lowth, the Hebraic scholar, and William Mason, the poet.¹

At the same time his position as critic was advanced by the number of books and booklets which were dedicated to him. Many of these, of course, concerned art and artists. There was, for example, *A Pindarick Ode on Painting*, published by an admirer in 1768; and there was *The Ear-Wig*, a satirical review of the exhibition of 1781. But the most inconspicuous of these was a small quarto published in 1787 and entitled *Six Narrative Poems*. It was written by Eliza Knipe, who informs us in her preface that, "unexperienced in the Paths of Literature", she trembles "lest the PUBLIC VOICE should be that of Condemnation". Among the subscribers were Daniel Daulby, the Rembrandt collector, and William Roscoe, biographer of Lorenzo the Magnificent, both of whom lived in Liverpool and corresponded with Reynolds. Through them, perhaps, Eliza was introduced to him. All that I have been able to discover about her is that she was "an artist and drawing mistress in Liverpool".² Hence it was that she dedicated her poems to Sir Joshua, writing to him: "I Esteem myself highly honoured by the Permission to dedicate the following Poems to YOU; nor could I wish them a better Fate than to be thought worthy of your Acceptance: I fear they

¹ Prior's *Life of Burke*, London, 1826, ii, 110, 188; P. W. Clayden's *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*, Boston, 1888, 269; *Boswell Papers*, vi, 171; *Letters*, 130, 135, 90 *et seq.*, 108, 64, 243.

² Mayer's *Early Exhibitions of Art in Liverpool*, 1876, 52, 79. Inscribed in pencil on the copy of the twelfth discourse which is in the New York Public Library is an illegible note in which there is mention of "Eliza Knipe's Poems". This copy was once in the Liverpool Library.

can have no Pretensions to that Honour, but as the early Efforts of an *unletter'd Muse*, who trembles at the Severity of Criticism, and does not hope much even from Candour." It is just as well that her hopes were not high.

And yet he must have preferred the honour from such a modest damsel to that which had previously been accorded him by one of his former pupils, George Huddesford. In the summer of 1778, when a French invasion was feared, the militia was called out. Johnson and Reynolds visited Langton at his camp at Warley in Essex. Sir Joshua was at the time painting the portrait of Huddesford, who was soon the talk of the town, owing to a satire which he brought out in the autumn, entitled *Warley* and "addressed to the First ARTIST in *Europe*". Towards the end of the second part the poetaster wonders whether his metre will "gain approbation from dear little Burney", who in a footnote is described as "The Authoress of *Evelina*". It will be remembered that *Evelina* had been published anonymously at the beginning of the year, and when *Warley* appeared, there were still many people who did not know who had written it. Fanny, reading Huddesford's obscene satire, was horrified to find herself mentioned. She was comforted by Mrs Thrale, who wrote her in English hardly to be expected from a bluestocking: "Your looking dismal can only advertise the paltry pamphlet, which I firmly believe no one out of your own family has seen, and which is now only lying like a dead kitten on the surface of a dirty horse-pond, incapable of scratching any one who does not take pains to dirty their fingers for it."¹ A day or so later at Sir Joshua's an incident occurred which frightened Fanny "wofully". Lord Palmerston asked his host a question which put her "in such a twitter": "What is this *Warley* that is just come out?" "Why,

¹ *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Dobson, London, 1904, i, 158.

I don't know," was the reply; "but the reviewers, my Lord, speak very well of it." Mrs Cholmondeley, hearing the name of the author, exclaimed: "Oh! I don't like it at all, then! Huddisford! What a name! Miss Burney, pray can you conceive anything of such a name as Huddisford?" Fanny, unable to speak, "looked no-how".

Sir Joshua attempted a kind of vindication of him: but Lord Palmerston said, drily,

"I think, Sir Joshua, it is dedicated to you?"

"Yes, my Lord," answered he.

"Oh, your servant! Is it so?" cried Mrs Cholmondeley; "then you need say no more!"

Sir Joshua laughed, and the subject, to my great relief, was dropped.¹

It is difficult to believe that Sir Joshua could have liked the poem, even though he was flattered in it. It is filled with the coarseness one associates with a certain type of schoolboy, and brings in many of Sir Joshua's friends in an impertinent way. One of these, "Hermes" Harris, whom Reynolds and Johnson visited at Salisbury, and who receives honourable mention in a later discourse, is thus treated:

View yon Weavers of dull Philosophical Prose,
Led by club-footed Hermes from Sal'sbury Close.

Johnson's friend and physician features as "Old Br—kl—sby, Quack to the states Body politic", and others known to Reynolds fared worse.

But there were some books dedicated to him which are of importance in literature. Besides the most important of them all, the *Life of Johnson*,² there was Sheridan's *School for Scandal* and Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. The latter's death was the occasion for a number of pamphlets,

¹ *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, i, 180.

² The copy of the *Life* which Boswell presented to Sir Joshua is in the Harry Elkins Widener Collection in the Harvard College Library.

among which was a poem dedicated to Sir Joshua by "Courtney Melmoth", entitled *The Tears of Genius*. About the same time William Hawes, Apothecary, wrote *An Account of the late Dr Goldsmith's Illness*, which he dedicated to Reynolds and Burke. Somewhat later, Thomas Evans, the bookseller, planning an edition of Goldsmith's plays and poems, wrote to Sir Joshua for some information, requesting at the same time permission to dedicate the book to him. The answer was not included in my edition of the letters.

Leicester fields Oct. 13 1779

Sir

I am very glad to hear that a compleat edition of D^r Goldsmith's works is intended to be published. I have nothing my self but what has already been printed in some of the public papers Two young ladies of my acquaintance have a very humorous letter half prose and half verse which If I can procure from them I will put into your hands. I can have no objection to the dedication, on the contrary consider it as a great honour

I am with great respect

Your most obedient servant

JOSHUA REYNOLDS¹

Evans brought out his edition in 1780. In the same year a similar volume was published by Newbery, prefaced by a reprint of a memoir of Goldsmith. It is worth noting that this contains a sentence in which Sir Joshua, Johnson, Beauclerk, and Garrick are called his *literary* friends. Reynolds the artist was in this connection thought of less consequence than Reynolds the writer.

Since, then, Sir Joshua was in the habit of associating with the literati, and was recognised by his contemporaries as being possessed of a marked "philosophical

¹ First printed in Catalogue 547, issued in 1930 by the Messrs Maggs. The two young ladies were of course the Horneck sisters, whose humorous letter was not printed by Evans. See *Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Balderston, Cambridge, 1928, 80 *et seq.* Northcote (i, 335 *et seq.*) reprints Evans's dedication.

penetration and justness of thinking",¹ it was natural for him to attempt literary criticism. And since the Shakespearian was regarded as the best field in which to exercise one's critical abilities, it was natural that he toyed with Shakespearian commentaries. Shortly after his death a literary hack named Samuel Felton collected a number of biographical anecdotes concerning him. In his booklet he included this paragraph:

To Sir Joshua Reynolds (both in conversation and in writing) Shakspeare is indebted for many a beautiful elucidation. Some of them enrich the later editions of this poet. The Discourses to the Students of the Academy, evidently shew his attachment to Shakspeare. He has been often heard, at various periods of his life (among his intimate friends), to apply Cicero's words to the charm attending the perusal of the great dramatic poet: "Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."²

The notes to which Felton alludes have already received mention, and were copied in the various editions which appeared after 1765. To these Malone in his edition of 1780 added a passage on Macbeth, which was slightly

¹ Boswell's *Life*, ii, 306.

² *Testimonies to the Genius and Memory of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1792, 64. Felton had dedicated both parts of his *Imperfect Hints towards a new edition of Shakespeare* (1787, 1788) to Walpole and Reynolds, "whom Shakespeare, had he lived in these Days, would have chosen for the Conductors of any splendid Edition of his Works". In the advertisement to the second part there is a lengthy quotation from "an animated Discourse" by Sir Joshua—the fifth. The quotation from Cicero occurred as the motto for *Spectator* no. 406, where Sir Joshua might have found it. It also adorns the title-page of the edition of Pope's *Iliad* published by Tonson in 1717 and is quoted several times in the poet's letters (ed. Elwin and Courthope, vi, 86, 127). In the commonplace book seen by Tom Taylor there are said to be numerous extracts from Pope's letters (*Leslie and Taylor*, i, 467); in the commonplace book in my possession Reynolds quotes frequently from Pope's *Iliad*. Cf. *post*, pp. 212 *et seq.*

altered from the eighth discourse, and a note on Lear's last speech. The dying king speaks of his poor fool being hanged. This Sir Joshua believed to be a reference to the Fool. In the edition of 1773 Steevens had thus annotated the speech: "This is an expression of tenderness for his dead Cordelia (not his fool, as some have thought) on whose lips he is still intent, and dies away while he is searching for life there." In Malone's edition Steevens expanded this note, giving passages from Shakespeare to prove that *fool* was a term of endearment. He added: "Should the foregoing remark, however, be thought erroneous, the reader will forgive it, as it serves to introduce some contradictory observations from a critick, in whose taste and judgment too much confidence cannot easily be placed." Then follows Sir Joshua's note, which has been included in the Variorum edition.

I confess, I am one of those who *have thought* that Lear means his *Fool*, and not *Cordelia*. If he means *Cordelia*, then what I have always considered as a beauty, is of the same kind as the accidental stroke of the pencil that produced the foam.—Lear's affectionate remembrance of the *Fool* in this place, I used to think, was one of those strokes of genius, or of nature, which are so often found in Shakspeare, and in him only.

Lear appears to have a particular affection for this *Fool*, whose fidelity in attending him, and endeavouring to divert him in his distress, seems to deserve all his kindness.

Poor fool and knave, says he, in the midst of the thunderstorm, *I have one part in my heart that's sorry yet for thee.*

It does not therefore appear to me, to be allowing too much consequence to the *Fool*, in making Lear bestow a thought on him, even when in still greater distress. Lear is represented as a good-natured, passionate, and rather weak old man; it is the old age of a cocker'd spoilt boy. There is no impropriety in giving to such a character those tender domestick affections, which would ill become a more heroick character, such as Othello, Macbeth, or Richard III.

The words—*No, no, no life*; I suppose to be spoken, not tenderly, but with passion: Let nothing now live;—let there be

universal destruction;—*Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life, and thou no breath at all?*

It may be observed, that as there was a necessity, the necessity of propriety at least, that this *Fool*, the favourite of the author, of Lear, and consequently of the audience, should not be lost or forgot, it ought to be known what became of him.—However, it must be acknowledged, that we cannot infer much from thence; Shakspeare is not always attentive to finish the figures of his groups.

I have only to add, that if an actor, by adopting the interpretation mentioned above, should apply the words *poor fool* to Cordelia, the audience would, I should imagine, think it a strange mode of expressing the grief and affection of a father for his dead daughter, and that daughter a queen.—The words, *poor fool*, are undoubtedly expressive of endearment; and Shakspeare himself, in another place, speaking of a dying animal, calls it *poor dappled fool*:¹ but it never is, nor never can be, used with any degree of propriety, but to commiserate some very inferior object, which may be loved, without much esteem or respect.

In printing this Malone adds a lengthy note, a part of which may be quoted because of its characterization of Reynolds as critic:

It is not without some reluctance that I express my dissent from the friend whose name is subscribed to the preceding note; whose observations on all subjects of criticism and taste are so ingenious and just, that posterity may be at a loss to determine, whether his consummate skill and execution in his own art, or his judgment on that and other kindred arts, were superior.

Sir Joshua's note shows him to be a painter and a student of painters. His reference to the happy accident which enabled Apelles to paint the foam on a horse's mouth and his phrase "to finish the figures of his groups" suggest one of his discourses at the Academy. The note was not written without some thought and some experimenting. In the collection of Rupert Colomb, Esq., and now lent to the Royal Academy, is a page in Sir

¹ *As You Like It*, II, I. This passage is one of the extracts which Reynolds included in the commonplace book in my possession.

Joshua's hand which is obviously a first draft of a part of this note:

If the fool in *Lear* instead of being represented allways as a jester (for it must be rememberd that the fools in Shakespear are not what we call fools but a person whose trade it is to divert his master D] if this fool had appeared when alone to have had some feeling for the misfortunes of his master, he would then have been been [*sic*] a very interesting character in the scene—if, as it is probable Shakespear intended such a Character It is not too much for *Lear* to bestow a single thought on him even in the midst of greater misfortunes

Let the Critic ask himself this question would this remembrance be a stroke of Genius of that bold uncommon kind such as is worthy of the Author, if it had been more apparently marked to have referd to the fool—if so—why should we suppose Shakespear did not intend it, tho he had not marked it distinctly.

The note must have been written in the 'eighties and was quite probably called forth as a result of some discussion at Sir Joshua's table. His friends Malone and Steevens, at work on their editions, presumably encouraged him and suggested that he express his opinion in writing.

It must have been at about the same time that the painter tried his hand at a more pretentious essay on a similar topic. His lucubrations, which have not been published before, are in my possession.

Dr. Johnson has with great modesty and he says himself with a trembling hand when he considers what authorities are against him, vi[n]dicated Shakespear in his neglect of the unities of Time & place¹—How much greater apprehensions ought a man of less critical authority to entertain when he endeavours to vi[n]dicate the same author in a breach of the establish'd rules of Criticism

¹ "Yet when I speak thus slightly of dramattick rules, I cannot but recollect how much wit and learning may be produced against me; before such authorities I am afraid to stand. . . . Perhaps, what I have here not dogmatically but deliberately written, may recall the principles of the drama to a new examination. I am almost frighted at my own temerity; and when I estimate the fame and the strength of those that maintain the contrary opinion, am ready to sink down in reverential silence." *Preface to Shakespeare.*

in a matter of perhaps still greater consequence that of mixing Trajedy & Comedy. Such a new undertaking¹ must have the appearance to a Fore[i]gner espeacially to a French man as if the English had no other Ideas of excellence than what Shakespear afforded them and that they were resolved to vindicate his whole conduct, right or wrong, and [were] not content to excuse his defects but [must] even convert his faults into beautys/ convinced and aware of this hyper Criticism which is to attend us, we will still venture to look about and see what can be said in the defence of this practice.

If the natural unsophist[ic]ated feelings of mankind are not on my side I have no resort I appeal only to those, I am well aware all Critics are of an other party and if [I] were to add they are freed by the other side I should speak what I believe, that is they think the credit of their critical skill depends on their supporting that opinion, for it must be acknowledged that the Critics from — down to Dryden have universally condemned this mixture, & *on the other side the Practice of Shakespear stands in a manner alone*,² and as to the feelings of mankind they will say we have every reason to suppose we have those on our side, for it is on this ground that those rules were instituted by the Critics who are the representatives or more properly speaking the judges whose business it is to sum up the Evidence of the senses or

¹ Sir Joshua was hardly correct in calling this a new undertaking. *Rambler* no. 156 contains the following sentences: "What is there in the mingled drama which impartial reason can condemn? . . . Is it not certain that the tragick and comick affections have been moved alternately with equal force, and that no plays have oftener filled the eye with tears, and the breast with palpitation, than those which are variegated with interludes of mirth? . . . however . . . instead of vindicating tragicomedy by the success of Shakespear, we ought, perhaps, to pay new honours to that transcendent and unbounded genius." Johnson had also discussed the subject in his *Preface*: "That this is a practice contrary to the rules of criticism will be readily allowed; but there is always an appeal open from criticism to nature. The end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing. That the mingled drama may convey all the instruction of tragedy or comedy cannot be denied, because it includes both in its alterations of exhibition, and approaches nearer than either to the appearance of life, by shewing how great machinations and slender designs may promote or obviate one another, and the high and the low co-operate in the general system by unavoidable concatenation."

² The passage in italics was deleted by Reynolds. He himself has left the blank for the name of an early critic.

feelings of mankind, This undoubtedly has a most formidable appearance I still think that if every soldier would act as if the whole victory depended upon himself that is judge from his own feelings this formidable phalanks will not appear so terrible It may be justly said in opposition to our opinion that if this universal[ly] receiv'd opinion is not founded on nature how came it to be first receiv'd and continue its existence in all codes of Criticism In answer to this it may be observed that works precede Criticism &c¹ that few writers are capable of writing both Comedy & Trajedy, being thus from accident or incapacity seperate, the succeeding Critics think they ought to be seperate and much good sense and reason may be brought forward to shew the propriety of this seperation, in which argument reason alone, not the passions, are consulted, every man acquiesces to those reason[s] and the rule is establishd. But if there should arise a Genius of such magnitude and comprehension equal at least to any of those great men who first suggested to the Critics this Idea of seperating Commedy & Trajedy who is equally capable of carr[y]ing both to their highest excellence, who could have no prejudice in favour of rules which he never knew, but whose sagacity and general knowledge of human nature served in their stead, and who from the circumstance of his life had been allways to the Theatre and from his great sagacity knew the art of captivating the audience, drew his rules therefore from nature herself and not at second hand²

Here Sir Joshua reached the bottom of a page, and the end of his long sentence has been lost to posterity. What has been given may be considered as a sort of introduction. The body of the essay, which seems to have remained

¹ Cf. one of Sir Joshua's memoranda as printed by Northcote (ii, 54): "Homer's Iliad was first written, then Aristotle drew his rules of an epic poem." And in the commonplace book in my possession (f. 54) he wrote: "rules were made from Pictures, not Pictures from Rules."

² Cf. one of Sir Joshua's memoranda as printed by Northcote (ii, 54): "When a poet would represent a man inflamed by passion, to put a simile in his mouth he knows would be contrary to the rules of poetry, because it would be unnatural. But, suppose the poet truly felt the passion he would represent at the time he was writing upon it, (which most certainly Shakespeare did,) he would never look about for a simile, it would inevitably cause the passion to languish. Thus we see that rules are founded on nature, consequently a poet who felt his subject properly would have very little occasion for rules." Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 241 (XIII, 1).

unwritten, can be roughly constructed from several pages headed *Hints*:

we must consider the means that Shakespear had of knowing what would & what would not please

If it is said his audience wer[e] ignorant it must be likewise acknowledged they were unprejudiced, & that their sensibility was not subdued by reason

we have I suspect something of hypocrisy in our pleasures, we say we like what we think we ought to like

It is an invariable rule with this great master of our passions never to let a Trajedy go out of his hands without some mixture of Comedy

Trajedy requires a dash of Comedy, tho Comedy can do without Trajedy, it is sufficient that some parts are grave to give it weight to prevent its descending to a farce

To state all the reasons on the other side such as the unwillingness to be disturbed in your serious thoughts the unwellcomeness of merriment to grief (how far this is sophistry, has a man real grief) does it leave any effects on the mind five minutes after does he not wipe his eyes & freely converse immediatly after Vari[e]ty to be insisted on

Instance Lady Spencers laughing succeding immediatly to the greatest Theatrical distress

The habit of our life is Trajedy & Comedy. Society a convivial party

It is the sluggish state of mind that makes unfitness, when the whole mind is alive it easily moves to the right or to the left from sadness to merriment or the contrary

A man whos[e] mind has been pierced¹ with the distress of a Tragedy is more susceptible of merriment immediatly after, than it was when he first coolly enterd the Theatre

Then comes a page headed *Conclusion*:

All the Apologies which Dr. Johnson has thought it necessary to make for our Poets neglect of the unities of time & place are equally necessary for the admission of that monster (as it is often called)² of Tragi-comidy into civilized Society; It has undoubtedly the appearance of making a universal sacrifice of the wisdom of ages The practice of Poets to the shrine of an individual Poet

¹ Sir Joshua defined *pierced* as *thoroughly touched* in a note to *Othello* (*Northcote*, i, 149).

² The second of these brackets was omitted by Reynolds.

If the rules of Epic Poetry are formed from the Practice of Homer, and those of Tragedy from Sophocles & Euripides and of Comedy from Menander & Terence and if a new and great Genius has arisen equal to any of them and superior for universality of Powers, with success superior to what was ever before seen and upon a plan in the general construction totally different [it is]¹ time for a new code of laws or at least for the old to be fairly and candidly revised.

In the Royal Academy there is another page headed *Conclusion*, which is probably an earlier draft:

Professing to admire and be more delighted with a representation of Shakespears plays than with those of any other writer but at the same time to regret that he has mixed Trajedy with Comedy (or rather Comedy with Trajedy—for Comedy will stand alone better than Trajedy), This reminds me of a sort of Criticism which we Painters often hear,² where the effects of the Colours or of Light and shade shall be admired but at the same time condemning a particular colour, or a particular shade on which the artist himself knew all that brilliancy of the effect which produced the admiration depended,—I like says the Connoisseur the brilliancy of the light, but I wish this shade not so dark, or this sunny yellow tint has a fine effect but I want this blue colour away, in short wishing to remove the very things that produce the effect

Primarily an artist, Sir Joshua was nevertheless prone to draw upon literature and literary men both in his writings and his conversation to illustrate what he wished to express, and there can be little doubt but that what he has jotted down about Shakespeare was made the topic of conversation at Leicester Fields, at the Turk's Head, or in Mayfair. He early formed the habit of saying little whether in public or private of painting or of painters and seems to have resented the attempts of others to lead him to discuss such topics.³ This habit fostered the

¹ The words supplied may have been written by Reynolds. The edge of the page is hidden by the inlaying.

² From this point to the end of the page everything has been cancelled.

³ *Northcote*, ii, 77.

notion of his being a man of culture. His writings are filled with quotations from Latin authors, with allusions to Homer, Plato, and Aristotle, with excerpts from Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope, with references to Molière, Boileau, and Corneille, or to his contemporaries, Goldsmith, Gray, and Johnson. And so it happened that, not many months after his death, a writer in one of the newspapers could say of him what is printed at the head of this chapter, that he was a "critic in the Classics".¹ The assertion is worth investigating.

As Johnson said of Pope, "it is not very likely that he overflowed with Greek".² There is no record of his having possessed a single volume written in Greek. When he quotes a saying of Zeuxis, it is in Latin, "in æternitatem pingo".³ When he reads Homer, it is Pope's translation that he uses; when he reads Plutarch, it is Dryden's version. I suspect that Reynolds was that "gentleman, by no means deficient in literature," who "discovered less acquaintance with one of the Classics than Johnson expected". "Why, Sir," the great man said to Langton, "who is there in this town who knows any thing of Clenardus but you and I?"⁴ The publication of the *Boswell Papers* reveals that the Somebody who "found fault with writing verses in a dead language", for which heresy he was sharply reprimanded by Johnson, was Sir Joshua.⁵ A Johnson or a Langton, strong in his knowledge of Clenardus, could never have thought such thoughts. Sir Joshua's lack of sympathy indicates that however small his Latin, he had less Greek.

¹ The article in *The World* is signed "P". It is reprinted in "Anthony Pasquin's" *Memoirs of the Royal Academicians*, 1796, 72.

² Boswell's *Life*, iii, 403 n.

³ *Works*, i, 67.

⁴ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 20. According to Fanny Burney, Langton was "commonly called the Greek Langton" (lot 485 in a sale at Sotheby's, 31 July, 1934).

⁵ *Boswell Papers*, vi, 46; cf. Boswell's *Life*, ii, 371.

And his command of Latin was, to say the least, not remarkable. When one reads the discourses for the first time, he is struck by the facility with which the author quotes Cicero, Quintilian, Horace, and their contemporaries. Sir Joshua gives the impression of being an omnivorous reader and of being equally at home whether the book he was reading happened to be the *Satyricon* of Petronius or the *Traveller* of Goldsmith. Actually it is doubtful if he read much Latin after leaving home when a young man. He was a cultured gentleman, endowed with a mind which though not original was certainly unusually active, but his classical attainments should not be stressed.

Like many another who has been deprived of the orthodox training offered by a university and who associates in later life with the "educated", Sir Joshua seems to have tried to conceal what he thought a weakness. Hence, just as a man of small stature is likely to hold himself unnaturally erect, the author of the discourses liberally sprinkled his writings with the outward signs of an academic education. Twice in the discourses when quoting Roman authors he refers to Junius's *Painting of the Ancients* as his source.¹ His doing so, as we shall see in the next chapter, is analogous to a child's confessing to having had two pieces of chocolate when in reality he has eaten a dozen. When quoting lesser known writers like Tertullian and Proclus, he wisely confesses that his source is a secondary one; but when his author is Cicero or Quintilian, whom he might have been expected to read, with equal wisdom he conceals his source.

I have mentioned Junius because so many of Sir Joshua's quotations are there found and because there is definite proof that he frequently used this book. But he tapped other veins as well. Throughout this study, when mentioning a Latin quotation copied by Reynolds, I have

¹ *Works*, i, 54, 223.

suggested as a possible source for it a book which we know he read. But a few quotations should be discussed here, since they have proved stumbling-blocks to editors of the discourses. One of these is the saying of Zeuxis already referred to, which is inserted in the third discourse. Mr Fry endeavoured to track this to its source, but was finally forced to conclude that "this must be quoted from recollection of some Latin translation of....Plutarch".¹ Now it so happens that the quotation was used by Steele in *Spectator* no. 52, and we have positive evidence that Reynolds read the *Spectator*.² Consequently we are not justified in assuming that Reynolds read "some Latin translation" of Plutarch.

To treat satisfactorily other passages which have caused trouble to scholars necessitates a digression, which is the more permissible in that it bears directly on Sir Joshua, critic of literature. It happens that his earliest reference to Francis Bacon is in a letter to the Bishop of St Asaph, dated 26 October, 1784.³ "I remember," he wrote, "Sir Francis Bacon advises as a refined piece of art, to mention sometimes in a postscript, as if just recollected what is in reality the chief subject of the Letter." Reynolds adds that such tricks are distasteful to him, and yet I believe he was guilty of a certain amount of trickery while penning the sentence. He begins his remark with the casual "I remember", from

¹ *The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. Roger Fry, London, 1905, 430.

² Cf. *post*, Appendix I, p. 207. The boast of Zeuxis, incidentally, was a favourite of Boswell's. In September, 1770, when Sir Joshua's ideas for his third discourse were germinating, Boswell published an essay on the theatre in the *London Magazine* (xxxix, 469), in which he quotes the phrase. Nine years later he quoted it in *Hypochondriack XVIII*. Cf. *Boswell Papers*, xi, 274. But it will be noted that Boswell's version is "pingo æternitati" and that Reynolds employs the form used by Steele.

³ *Letters*, 117. The two paragraphs in the third discourse in which Bacon is introduced were not published until 1797. Cf. *post*, p. 190.

which the natural inference is that he had long been familiar with Bacon's *Essays*. Yet in the many pages of his which survive there is no allusion to the essayist before this, whereas the twelfth discourse, which was being formulated in his mind while he was writing to the genial bishop, contains in its original form at least three such references. One of these, as his reading notes prove, is to *The Advancement of Learning*, the others to the *Essays*.¹ In other words, ungracious as the suggestion may be, it seems possible that he was reading the *Essays* just before starting the letter to his friend the bishop.

We have his own word to prove that he remembered reading Bacon's essay *Of Cunning*, but to charge him with trickery in this instance is perhaps unwarranted. What appears more suspicious is gleaned from one of the pages of reading notes just mentioned. After a quotation from Bacon's essay "on the Nature of men" Sir Joshua has written: "*Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit Draco. Idem*", proving without argument his source for the Latin quotation. The first of the two excerpts from this essay is paraphrased in the twelfth discourse. Later in the same discourse he writes:

The daily food and nourishment of the mind of an Artist is found in the great works of his predecessors. There is no other way for him to become great himself. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit, non fit draco*, is a remark of a whimsical Natural History, which I have read, though I do not recollect its title; however false as to dragons, it is applicable enough to Artists.²

Several years after Sir Joshua's death, the scholarly Malone endeavoured to locate the source and found a similar phrase in Ben Jonson's *Catiline*, but the page in the archives of the Royal Academy solves the problem. The question which follows is how honest Reynolds was in avowing ignorance as to where he had found the phrase. In the discourse he mentions Bacon by name

¹ *Works*, ii, 76, 87, 92. Cf. *post*, Appendix I, p. 214. ² *Id.* ii, 92.

in one passage, paraphrases him in another without revealing his source, and quotes from him a third time, giving a misleading reference. That he did this to appear a man of wide reading seems a reasonable conjecture.¹

Among the additions made to the *Discourses* before they appeared in Malone's edition of 1797, as we shall see,² were some further passages inspired by re-reading Bacon. And among the additions to the thirteenth discourse is the rhetorical question "quid enim deformius, quàm scenam in vitam transferre?" Careful editors of the *Discourses* like Mr Fry and M. Dimier fail to annotate this. The most careful of their predecessors, Leisching, attributes it to the *Epistles of Apollinaris Sidonius*. Dr Greenway denies this, but does not give the source of the phrase.³ Sir Joshua's source was in all probability *The Advancement of Learning*. The quotation is to be found on page 274 of his edition.

In brief, then, since the Latin quotations which Reynolds scattered throughout his discourses can be found in some half dozen books which we know he had read

¹ Cf. a passage in the *Boswell Papers* (xvii, 115) concerning Lord Macartney: "One day Lord Lonsdale called on him when he had been reading and had left his Book till he should be powdered. It was 'Anecdotes'. Lonsdale chanced to open it at the very place where Mcartney had been reading. That day, dining at Lord Bute's together, Mcartney, in his usual way, dropped a word on the subject he wished to introduce, and let the Company keep up the ball; if going down, would just throw in as much as to keep it up. At last, with appearance of deep recollection: 'I have read, I am not sure in what Authour—' And then quoted very solemnly what he had found on the subject in the 'Anecdotes', taken from some Writer of eminence. Lonsdale called out, 'I know where you read it: in the Book of "Anecdotes" you were reading this morning'. Mcartney. 'O, no, it was not in that.' Lonsdale. 'But it was, for I happened to open it at the Place, and found the very passage.' He coloured as red! Lord Bute burst out a laughing." Perhaps it should be added that Lonsdale hated Macartney and that the story rests on his authority.

² *Post*, p. 190.

³ *Some Predecessors of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (unpublished), p. 272.

with care, we are hardly justified in considering him "a critic in the Classics". That he was so termed by a contemporary merely proves that he had succeeded in deceiving those who did not know him intimately. Northcote, who lived with him for five years as pupil, and Boswell, who ate innumerable dinners with him, were not so deceived,¹ but though they were not impressed with his classical learning, they did consider his judgment on literary matters worthy of respect. And while his reputation as a literary critic was based chiefly on his association with men of letters, it can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that he made the most of those books which he read.

¹ *Northcote*, i, 10; *ante*, p. 106.



CHAPTER VII

THE LIBRARY OF A PAINTER

"Every man whose business is description, ought to be tolerably conversant with the poets, in some language or other; that he may imbibe a poetical spirit, and enlarge his stock of ideas."
Seventh Discourse.

While dining one day at the home of Noel Desenfans, connoisseur and art dealer, Sir Abraham Hume remarked how pleasant it was to see rooms furnished with fine pictures. "Yes", added Sir Joshua, "to see walls decorated with thought."¹ In saying this Reynolds was merely echoing a sentiment which runs through all his writings. Painting he speaks of as "this literate and liberal profession". The great painter is a thinking man, one "that enlarges the sphere of his understanding by a variety of knowledge, and warms his imagination with the best productions of antient and modern poetry".²

That he was sincere in this belief is not to be questioned. In the foregoing chapter we have seen him enlarging the sphere of his understanding by a variety of knowledge. We have seen that he is inclined to discuss Shakespeare, Pope, or Homer, rather than Rubens, Raphael, or Michelangelo. We have seen that although his fame and livelihood depended on his mastery of

¹ Farington's *Diary*, v, 150.

² *Works*, i, 69, 146. Cf. Gainsborough's scornful remark (lot 417 in the sale at Sotheby's, 29 May, 1934): "I never could have patience to read Poetical impossibilities, the very food of a Painter, especially if he intends to be Knighted in this land of roast beef, so well do serious People love froth."

"tonos" and "harmoge", he nevertheless let his mind play on the advantages and disadvantages of combining tragedy and comedy. We have seen that he was considered by his contemporaries as a man of letters, and that the great dictator pronounced him to be a thinker. Sir Joshua was preaching what he practised.

Now although this is assuredly true, he has never been regarded as a bookish person. A passage in the seventh discourse is generally looked upon as indicative of how he acquired an education. After recommending that the young artist be "tolerably conversant with the poets" and not "wholly unacquainted with that part of philosophy which gives an insight into human nature", he adds:

For this purpose, it is not necessary that he should go into such a compass of reading, as must, by distracting his attention, disqualify him for the practical part of his profession, and make him sink the performer in the critick. Reading, if it can be made the favourite recreation of his leisure hours, will improve and enlarge his mind, without retarding his actual industry. What such partial and desultory reading cannot afford, may be supplied by the conversation of learned and ingenious men, which is the best of all substitutes for those who have not the means or opportunities of deep study. There are many such men in this age; and they will be pleased with communicating their ideas. . . if they are treated with that respect and deference which is so justly their due.¹

Few can read this passage without thinking of its author's habit of choosing "learned and ingenious men" as his friends. And an attempt to prove that there was nothing autobiographical in it would be absurd. Sir Joshua was not a bookish person, but to conclude from this that he seldom read is equally absurd. Evidence is not lacking to show how he made use of the books in his library, and in a treatment of his literary career such evidence should not be entirely overlooked.

¹ *Works*, i, 191 *et seq.*

I shall not consider to what extent Sir Joshua's aesthetic theories were moulded by the authors which he read.¹ What is here attempted is to present certain facts relating to Sir Joshua's reading at which I have arrived independently. Of Sir Joshua as a theorist it is only necessary to say what Prof. Thompson suggests and Dr Greenway proves, that although he was by no means original—as indeed he admits in his *Discourses*—he expressed the best thought of his day so well that his lectures are still read with pleasure when the writers who influenced him are all but forgotten. That he was no plagiarist is a fact which in the light of the following pages should be stressed. He pursued the same method in writing that he practised and recommended in painting; he borrowed an attitude from one master, an expression from another, but the ideas as finally expressed were stamped with his own individuality.

Most if not all of the writers on painting read by Reynolds emphasized the necessity of reading poetry, but when he speaks of the artist who “warms his imagination with the best productions of antient and modern poetry”, he is consciously or unconsciously quoting de Piles, who in a note to Dufresnoy's *Art of Painting* lists a number of books “qui par leur lecture échauffent l'imagination”.² Chief among these books are the Bible,

¹ This complex topic has not been neglected. Paul Ortlepp's *Sir Joshua Reynolds. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Aesthetik des 18. Jahrhunderts in England* was partly published in 1906 at Strassburg. An admirable, though brief, article, “The *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds”, was contributed by Prof. E. N. S. Thompson to *Publications of the Modern Language Association* in 1917. In unpublished form in the Yale University Library are C. S. Peete's *Sir Joshua Reynolds, Writer and Theorist* (M.A. 1921) and Dr G. L. Greenway's *Some Predecessors of Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Criticism of the Fine Arts* (Ph.D. 1930). In the library of Northwestern University, also unpublished, is Prof. F. H. Heidbrink's *The Theory of Art*, 1436–1800 (Ph.D. 1927).

² *L'Art de Peinture de C. A. du Fresnoy*, ed. de Piles, Paris, 1751 133.

Homer and Virgil, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and Plutarch's *Lives*. There is little question but that Reynolds was an obedient pupil with respect to all of these.

Most of them, in fact, he read when a boy at Plympton. After his death three editions of the *Metamorphoses* were sold from his library, and since one of his copies was annotated, we may assume that he had read it with some care. Plutarch in the translation attributed to Dryden was one of the first books which attracted his attention, and he read the Bible under the guidance of his father. He later declared that Isaiah had always been his favourite book in the Old Testament, but, judging from extracts in his commonplace books, he was chiefly impressed with the Apocrypha.¹

According to de Piles, the greatest literature outside of the Bible is to be found in Homer. Although Homer's name frequently appears in Sir Joshua's writings, as far as I know there has never been any proof that he had more than a slight acquaintance with the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. We should have assumed that this side of his education would not have been neglected; we can now prove the assumption. The commonplace book in my possession reveals that the Homer which he read was Homer still, but Homer modernized. That he not only read but studied Mr Pope's elegant translation may be assumed from his references to the notes added by Pope. The way in which he has entered his excerpts is puzzling. He skips from one volume to another, and paragraphs or sentences which follow one another in the text are transposed in the manuscript. In reprinting Sir Joshua's transcripts I have retained his arrangement, but it is obvious that this does not represent the order in which they were entered by him. For example, after the first selection he has written the abbreviation for "ditto",

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 6 and *post*, Appendix I, pp. 206 *et seq.*

which alludes to the reference at the end of the second. I have no explanation for his having adopted this left-handed method.¹

It is impossible to catalogue the books in Sir Joshua's library which had nothing to do with painting. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, Bacon and Milton, and the outstanding wits of the Augustan Age—Dryden and Pope, Addison, and Steele—he knew well, and to this list should be added the names of a host of his contemporaries, many of whom were his personal friends. He was one of the subscribers to Robert Lloyd's *Poems*, which appeared in 1762; his copy of Martial's *Epigrams*, edited by his friend Elphinston, was in the possession of the late Sir Robert Edgcumbe and was recently advertised in a catalogue issued by G. Michelmores and Co. I own his copy of *A Voyage to the Ile de France*; and his copies of Warton's *Essay on Pope* (London, 1762), *Pensées Ingénieuses des Peres de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1700), and *Cento Favole Bellissime* (Venice, 1661) received notice many years ago in *Notes and Queries*.²

Romances and novels he seems to have avoided in general. He was ashamed to confess that he had never read the *Sorrows of Werther*. Northcote replied in his defence that he should "have been ashamed if he had read it, as it was a novel, and only fit reading for young girls. He tartly answered. . . that it was his place to have read that which every person else had read".³ He owned a copy of the *Arabian Nights*, which was recently in the Brick Row Book Shop of New York, and he praises *Tom Jones* in his thirteenth discourse, but the only writer of fiction whom he seems to have read "with avidity" was Fanny Burney. His copies of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* were in the possession of the late Sir Robert Edgcumbe, and

¹ The transcripts are printed in Appendix I (*post*, pp. 212 *et seq.*).

² V, vi, 88; vii, 18; ix, 34.

³ *Northcote*, ii, 245.

we are told that he pictured the beautiful heroine as Jenny Hamilton, wife of the dramatist, Edward Moore.¹

But there can be little doubt that the bulk of Sir Joshua's reading could be characterized as philosophical. The writings of Harris and Beattie he preferred to those of Richardson and Sterne. He read not for amusement but to "improve and enlarge his mind". The author who best served him in this respect was Samuel Johnson. How engrossed Reynolds became in the *Life of Savage* is well known. He himself contributed to the *Idler*. His copy of *Rasselas*, which he considered to be "writ by an Angel", was in the possession of the late Sir Robert Edgcumbe. The copy of the political tracts which Johnson gave him is in the library of Pembroke College, Oxford, and he owned two copies of the *Lives of the Poets*.² Even the *Dictionary* was probably perused by him. It will be remembered that in his will Johnson bequeathed to Reynolds a copy of the third edition, an edition in which Reynolds is quoted as an authority for the use of certain words.

Many passages in the *Discourses* which obviously derive from the writings of Johnson have been indicated by Prof. Thompson, whose monograph treats of the sources of Sir Joshua's theories of art. The general thesis of this monograph is that Reynolds spent little time reading. "His interest in these problems of æsthetics, and his knowledge of them, were mainly owing to Burke, Johnson, Beattie, and others in his circle of intimate acquaintance."³ This conclusion is perhaps justifiable, but it should not be over-emphasized. Prof. Thompson suggests that the painter had studied Burke's *Enquiry* "but casually, if at all, and that he was still less familiar

¹ Farington's *Diary*, iii, 222.

² Cf. *ante*, p. 83 n. The life of Pope he considered a *chef-d'œuvre* (*Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, xi, 427).

³ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxxii, 360.

with the work of du Bos, Gerard, Buffier, Lord Shaftesbury, and others".¹

Although I have no proof to offer, I cannot believe that Reynolds would have neglected a treatise on aesthetics written by one of his closest friends. "It is well known", writes Prior, "that toward the decline of life, Mr. Burke was solicited by several of his intimate friends, particularly Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Laurence, to revise and enlarge this treatise by the addition of such facts and observations as thirty years must have supplied. The popularity of the work, they said, and the excellence of what was already done, fully deserved that it should be rendered as complete as possible."²

One wonders whether the artist could have overlooked Dubos's *Réflexions sur la poésie, la peinture, et la musique*, a book, which, according to Voltaire, all artists were reading. In the autumn of 1769, when the president was preparing his second discourse, he was one of the guests at a dinner given by Boswell and heard Johnson deliver this utterance: "We have an example of true criticism in Burke's 'Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful'; and, if I recollect, there is also Du Bos; and Bouhours, who shews all beauty to depend on truth."³ Such a remark would hardly have been disregarded at such a time by a man who admittedly sought help in formulating his ideas on beauty.

Concerning Sir Joshua's familiarity with the others mentioned by Prof. Thompson, new information is supplied by the publication of the Reynolds manuscripts in the Royal Academy. The verso of folio 54 indicates that in later years he had not altogether forgotten Shaftesbury, whom he was reading in 1752 when in Italy, and folio 32 proves conclusively that he read Alexander

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxxii, 360.

² Prior's *Life of Burke*, London, 1826, i, 58.

³ Boswell's *Life*, ii, 90.

Gerard—or at least d'Alembert's *Reflections*, which Gerard included in his *Essay on Taste*, published in 1764.¹

Naturally enough, the bulk of Sir Joshua's library was made up of books of prints and essays on the fine arts. Some of these volumes are to be seen to-day in public or private collections. Three of these he probably bought when in the Netherlands: Christopher Corrolanus's *De Arte Gymnastica* (Amsterdam, 1672), which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Gerard Reynst's *Variarum Imaginum*, etc. (Amsterdam, n.d.), which is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; and Horace's *Emblems*, illustrated by Otho Vænius (Antwerp, 1612), which is in my possession. Malton's *Compleat Treatise on Perspective* (London, 1776) is in the collection of Wilmarth S. Lewis, Esq., and Dr G. L. Greenway owns Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, prints executed by Earlom and published by Boydell in 1777. In the Yale University Library is de Piles's *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (Paris, 1708), the gift of Dr Greenway. On the title-page, as is often the case with these books, is Sir Joshua's signature and an impression of the stamp which marked his drawings and prints. On the fly-leaf is inscribed: "J Reynolds the Gift of the Hon^{ble} Capt. Hamilton." After Sir Joshua's death the book must have been purchased by the son and biographer of his fellow-artist, for on page 57 is the inscription: "John Romney 1801." Almost a century ago a writer in *Notes and Queries* announced that he possessed Evelyn's *Sculptura, or the History and Art of Chalcography*, a duodecimo published in 1662, bound in old marbled calf and containing Sir Joshua's signature and stamp. At the same time another correspondent wrote that he owned Sandrart's *Academia Artis Pictoriæ* with similar marks of identification.² Two other volumes from his library have been sold by

¹ *Post*, Appendix II, p. 222 (IV, 7), p. 228 (VII, 5).

² *Notes and Queries*, V, vi, 219.

Sotheby and Co.: Guil. de Branteghen's *Pomarium Mysticum tum novorum tum veterum fructum* (Antwerp, 1535) and, from the collection of Samuel Rogers, pasted in an oblong folio album bound in old vellum of the sixteenth century, *Apuleius*, thirty-two engravings by the "Master of the Die", illustrating the story of Cupid and Psyche.

Many of his books were sold with his prints and drawings by Phillips, the auctioneer, in March, 1798. It is unnecessary to list all of the books which were disposed of in this sale. Of particular interest, however, were Sir William Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture*; *The Works of Bartolomeo*, by Thomas Patch, whom Reynolds had known intimately in student days in Italy; two books by Jonathan Richardson, *Remarks on Paintings in Italy* and the *Essay on Painting* which had first directed his attention to painting as a profession; *The Principles of Beauty*, by Alexander Cozens; Turnbull's *Curious Collection of Ancient Paintings*; and several volumes, the authorship of which is not given, such as *An Essay on Landscape Painting*, *An Essay on Design*, and a *History of Painting*.¹

Redenvoeringen Gedaan in de Teken Acad. is reminiscent of his journeys to Holland and his introduction to Lambert Kraye. Michelangelo's *Rime* and G. Franco's *Della Nobiltà del Disegno* he may have acquired when in Italy.² But of his foreign books the great majority seem to have been French. These included A. Bosse's *Différentes Manières de Dessiner et Peindre* (Paris, 1644), two copies of the works of Gerard Lairese, one of which may

¹ These and the other titles from this sale are taken from the catalogue in my possession. There is another copy of this catalogue in the Print Room of the British Museum.

² His copy of Vasari's *Lives* was not sold in 1798. From references which he gives in the *Discourses* and the catalogue of Ralph's Exhibition, his edition was that published in three quarto volumes at Bologna in 1647. (*Works*, i, 98; *Graves and Cronin*, iv, 1605.)

have been the edition sponsored by Hendrik Jansen, De Monville's *Vie de Pierre Mignard* (Paris, 1730), Félibien's *Dissertations sur les Ouvrages des plus Fameux Peintres*, a *Voyage Pittoresque de Paris*, *L'Art de la Peinture*, *L'Optique des Couleurs*, and *Architecture Générale de Vitruve*.

The presence of these books on Sir Joshua's shelves is no proof that their owner was familiar with their contents. In fact, with the exception of Richardson, Dufresnoy, Vasari, and Félibien, there is no evidence that any of the books just mentioned were read by him. Dr Greenway has proved that when Reynolds quotes from the *Cours de Peinture par Principes* it is from the English translation (London, 1743), nor would it be difficult to prove that Reynolds knew Dufresnoy through Dryden.

That he had carefully read other books in this sale is easily proved. One of these, published in 1764, was *An Essay on Painting*, written, originally in Italian, by Count Francesco Algarotti and dedicated to the Society for Promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, of which Reynolds was a member. There is only one reference to Algarotti in the discourses,¹ but this by no means reveals Sir Joshua's debt to him. Here are to be found almost all of the fundamental ideas later developed by Reynolds. And unlike the majority of Sir Joshua's predecessors in aesthetic theorizing, Algarotti wrote a book which is still very readable. Not only is Sir Joshua in agreement with him on fundamentals, but there are several cases of verbal likenesses which are, in my opinion, too close to be explained by chance. Thus Algarotti says of the Venetians and Flemish that "they aimed more at charming the senses than at captivating the understanding". With this compare the attitude consistently adopted by Reynolds, that the Venetian and

¹ *Works*, ii, 60; Algarotti, *op. cit.* 72 *et seq.*

Flemish schools were inferior to the Roman, which made use of the Grand Style. In this connection Reynolds informs the young artist that "instead of seeking praise, by deceiving the superficial sense of the spectator, he must strive for fame, by captivating the imagination".¹

Reference has already been made to the list of books which de Piles recommended to every painter. The list is a lengthy one. After mentioning many of the classics he thus concludes his catalogue:

Many Moderns have written of [the arts] with small Success, taking a large compass, without coming directly to the Point; and talking much, without saying any thing; yet some of them have acquitted themselves successfully enough. Amongst others, *Leonardo da Vinci* (though without method;) *Paulo Lomazzo*, whose Book is good for the greatest Part, but whose Discourse is too diffusive and very tiresome: *John Baptist Armenini*, *Franciscus Junius*, and *Monsieur de Cambray*, to whose Preface I rather invite you, than to his Book. We are not to forget what *Monsieur Félibien* has written of the Historical Peice of *Alexander*, by the Hand of *Monsieur Le Brun*: Besides that the Work it self is very eloquent, the Foundations which he establishes for the making of a good Picture, are wonderfully solid. Thus I have given you very near the *Library of a Painter*, and a Catalogue of such Books as he ought either to read himself, or have read to him.²

At least three of these books were in Sir Joshua's library and were read by him with some care. *Leonardo da Vinci's Treatise on Painting* was translated into English in the early part of the eighteenth century and is twice alluded to in the discourses. *Félibien's Tent of Darius Explained*, translated into English by Col. William Parsons (London, 1703), was owned by Samuel Rey-

¹ *Works*, i, 53; Algarotti, *op. cit.* 122. Cf. *Works*, i, 128 and Algarotti, 130. An example of his twice drawing from Algarotti an illustration which he applies to Rubens has been pointed out above (*ante*, p. 80).

² *The Art of Painting by C. A. du Fresnoy* (Dryden's translation), London, 1716, 114 *et seq.*

nolds. A long note written by Sir Joshua on one of the pages of this copy is printed below.¹ Similarly annotated was Junius's *Painting of the Ancients*, from which Reynolds borrowed extensively throughout his literary career. So many passages in the discourses can be traced directly to Junius that a discussion of Sir Joshua's indebtedness to him fitly concludes this chapter on his library.

François Du John, who latinized his name to Franciscus Junius, brought out in the early part of the seventeenth century a scholarly volume entitled *De Pictura Veterum*, which in certain respects may be compared to his contemporary Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. It is little more than an overpowering collection of quotations from more than two hundred Greek and Roman writers relating to painting; it is not the sort of book which one reads through with ease, but is invaluable as a work of reference. His patroness, his "singular good Ladie and Mistresse", the Countess of Arundel and Surrey, desired that the book be translated from the Latin. Whereupon, feeling himself inspired with courage by the signification of her noble desire (which wrought in his heart, what an absolute command useth to worke in others), Junius stoutly fell to his taske, with the result that in 1638 appeared *THE PAINTING OF THE ANCIENTS, in three Bookes: Declaring by Historicall Observations and Examples, THE BEGINNING, PROGRESSE, AND CONSVMMATION of that most Noble ART. And how those ancient ARTIFICERS attained to their still so much admired Excellencie*.

Sir Joshua must have had a copy of the Latin original, since he refers to it in the third discourse and twice quotes from it—in the seventh discourse and on the title-page of the edition of 1778. It was the English translation,

¹ *Ante*, p. 5, and *post*, Appendix II, p. 232 (VIII, 7).

however, which he read with care. His copy of this, lot 1995 in Phillips's sale, was again sold at auction in 1854. It was said to contain two autograph signatures of its famous owner and manuscript notes in his hand.¹ To see these notes would be instructive for students of the origins of the discourses, for in all probability they contain the germs of ideas later expanded, as is seen in the case of his marginalia on the *Tent of Darius Explained*. I should imagine that one of them concerns the "celebrated invention of Timanthes"² and another the necessity of appearing to paint with ease. The central paragraph of a manuscript page in the Royal Academy reads:

a man that is said to hurt his work by too much diligence may with much greater propriety be said not [to] have diligence enough he who dances with a constrain'd air as if he carefully measured every step has not taken the previous necessary pains has not used the same diligence as he who has the appearance of dancing careless without art &[c]. The verses of Antimachus. see 326.³

Opening the English edition of Junius at page 326, one reads:

the verses of Antimachus, sayth [Plutarch], and the pictures of Dionysius, who both were Colophonians, having vehemencie and intension, seeme to be forcibly expressed and too much belaboured: but Nicomachus his pictures and Homer his verses have this also besides all the other efficacie and grace which is in them, that you would thinke them made out of hand with much ease.

It is impossible to set limits to the extent of Sir Joshua's indebtedness to Junius. The ideas expounded by the two are in a great many instances identical, but there is always the possibility that Reynolds might have

¹ This description is to be found in a cutting in Anderdon's copy of Edwards's *Anecdotes of Painters* in the Print Room of the British Museum.

² *Works*, i, 282. Cf. Junius, *op. cit.* 242.

³ Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 234 (XI, 3).

arrived at his opinions independently or that they derived from some other source. There are however certain passages in the discourses which can be explained away in no such fashion. One of the two quotations avowedly taken from Junius occurs in the seventh discourse. It is a sentence of Tertullian's. In the next paragraph Sir Joshua illustrates a remark of his by an excerpt from Cicero's *Pro Archia Poeta*. Now it so happens that this immediately precedes that from Tertullian in Junius. It does not seem too bold then to assert that Reynolds copied the two passages from the same place at the same time.¹ The other passage, admittedly borrowed from *The Painting of the Ancients*, is to be found in the third discourse, where Proclus is quoted "as cited by Junius de Pictura Veterum". Some pages later in the same lecture there is a lengthy extract from Quintilian that is also to be found in Junius, who was almost certainly Sir Joshua's source.² The final lecture provides us with another example of the same sort. The author is commenting on the causes of the decline of painting since the days of Leo X.

The words of Petronius are very remarkable. After opposing the natural chaste beauty of the eloquence of former ages to the strained inflated style then in fashion, 'neither,' says he, 'has the art of Painting had a better fate, after the boldness of the Egyptians had found out a compendious way to execute so great an art.'

By *compendious*, I understand him to mean a mode of Painting, such as has infected the style of the later Painters of Italy and France; common-place, without thought, and with as little trouble, working as by a receipt.³

¹ *Works*, i, 223 *et seq.* Cf. *Painting of the Ancients*, 44. If it were not for Sir Joshua's acknowledgment, we could not prove that his source here was Junius. The passages from Tertullian and Cicero are juxtaposed in de Piles's first note to Dufresnoy's *Art of Painting* (Dryden's translation), London, 1716, 81.

² *Works*, i, 54, 66. Cf. *Painting of the Ancients*, 287.

³ *Works*, ii, 214.

On page 209 of *The Painting of the Ancients* the passage from Petronius is followed by a discussion of just what was meant by "compendiousnesse".

Still another illustration of this sort is found in the second discourse, where the following paragraph appears:

Though a man cannot at all times, and in all places, paint or draw, yet the mind can prepare itself by laying in proper materials, at all times, and in all places. Both Livy and Plutarch, in describing Philopoemen, one of the ablest generals of antiquity, have given us a striking picture of a mind always intent on its profession, and by assiduity obtaining those excellencies which some all their lives vainly expect from nature. I shall quote the passage in Livy at length, as it runs parallel with the practice I would recommend to the Painter, Sculptor, and Architect.¹

A competent translator and editor of the discourses, M. Louis Dimier, denies that the passage which follows can be found in Livy.² In this he was mistaken. He would have been quite right however had he asserted that Reynolds did not find it in Livy. Like the others which have already been noted, the passage is printed in full by Junius. After noticing this myself, I discovered that I had been anticipated by Charles S. Peete, who also pointed out what had escaped me—the verbal parallel between the first sentence in the paragraph above and this from Junius which follows the quotation from Livy:

although we cannot at all times and in all places draw and paint, our mind for all that can prepare it selfe alwayes and every where.³

This proves beyond question that when composing the second discourse the author had his Junius beside him. Hence it may be worth while to include one more passage

¹ *Works*, i, 44 *et seq.*

² *Discours sur la Peinture*, etc., ed. Louis Dimier, Paris, 1909, 44. M. Dimier suggests, in his introduction (p. 11), erroneously as is here shown, that Sir Joshua might have become acquainted with this passage through Johnson or Burke.

³ Peete, *op. cit.* 144; Junius, *op. cit.* 26.

to illustrate in a different way Sir Joshua's debt to his predecessor. A few pages before he quotes Livy Reynolds is warning the student against slavish copying of old masters:

Instead of treading in their footsteps, endeavour only to keep the same road. Labour to invent on their general principles and way of thinking. Possess yourself with their spirit. Consider with yourself how a Michael Angelo or a Raffaele would have treated this subject: and work yourself into a belief that your picture is to be seen and criticised by them when completed.

With this advice compare that given by Junius, who suggests that the painter associate

himselfe with *Apelles, Protogenes, Polycletus, Phidias*; not only considering with himselfe, what these noble soules if they were present, should do or else advise him to doe in the workes he taketh in hand; but propounding also unto himselfe, how they should censure his worke brought to an end.¹

Such is the evidence to prove that Sir Joshua found *The Painting of the Ancients* a most useful collection of anecdotes and sayings. Supported by the opinions of others, he acquired the confidence which he needed before publicly expressing his ideas on the fine arts.

¹ *Works*, i, 35; Junius, *op. cit.* 251.



CHAPTER VIII

THE MAKING OF THE *DISCOURSES*

"To put those ideas into something like order was, to my inexperience, no easy task." *Fifteenth Discourse.*

What fame Sir Joshua has acquired as man of letters rests entirely upon his *Discourses*. Reprinted more than fifty times since his death, they have not been unappreciated, and in such a study as this they should naturally receive the principal stress. Why they were written has already been explained. Being president of the Academy, he considered himself as "involuntarily pressed into this service".¹ How they were written—a subject which has hitherto received scant notice—is to be treated in the following pages.

As might be expected, Sir Joshua when discussing his literary efforts was consistently modest. "I am truly sensible how unequal I have been to the expression of my own ideas. To develop the latent excellencies, and draw out the interior principles, of our art, requires more skill and practice in writing, than is likely to be possessed by a man perpetually occupied in the use of the pencil and the pallet." He nevertheless argues in his own defence that however badly he has phrased his ideas, he has the advantage of practical experience in painting upon which to base his remarks. Nor had he approached his work without thought:

I had seen much, and I had thought much upon what I had seen; I had something of an habit of investigation, and a dis-

¹ *Works*, ii, 185. Cf. *ante*, p. 39.

position to reduce all that I observed and felt in my own mind, to method and system; but never having seen what I myself knew, distinctly placed before me on paper, I knew nothing correctly. To put those ideas into something like order was, to my inexperience, no easy task. The composition, the *ponere totum* even of a single Discourse, as well as of a single statue, was the most difficult part, as perhaps it is of every other art, and most requires the hand of a master.¹

Never did he write a remark more truthful. From the manuscripts which have survived it is possible to follow him step by step as he struggled to reduce his theories, his observations, his practical suggestions into their present form. The attempt to make chaos cosmic was for him a very real difficulty, and an examination of his early drafts more than anything else will reveal the workings of his mind.

Naturally enough, before putting pen to paper he fortified himself by reading whatever he could lay his hands upon concerning theories of art. "I thought it indispensably necessary well to consider the opinions which were to be given out from this place, and under the sanction of a Royal-Academy; I therefore examined not only my own opinions, but likewise the opinions of others."² This has been interpreted to mean that he discussed his ideas with fellow-Academicians and critics of art with whom he was acquainted.³ That he should do so is not surprising, but surely he is here referring more particularly to the books he had read—Richardson's *Theory of Painting*, Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*, and similar treatises which have been mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

As he read he took notes, occasionally copying out

¹ *Works*, ii, 185, 187. The phrase from Horace's *Art of Poetry* Sir Joshua could have found in Dryden's translation of Dufresnoy, London, 1716, 138.

² *Works*, ii, 188.

³ E. N. S. Thompson, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxxii, 360.

passages which he thought of using at a later time. In the twelfth discourse, for example, he writes:

Sir Francis Bacon speaks with approbation of the provisional methods Demosthenes and Cicero employed to assist their invention: and illustrates their use by a quaint comparison after his manner. These particular *Studios* being not immediately connected with our art, I need not cite the passage I allude to, and shall only observe that such preparation totally opposes the general received opinions that are floating in the world, concerning genius and inspiration.¹

Although he did not quote these particular *Studios*, he had copied them out, with the original intention, it would seem, of inserting them in his lecture. Other examples of the same sort have already been noted in an earlier chapter.

Another instance of his use of Bacon in the same discourse, to which reference has already been made, is revealed in the following passage. What Reynolds has written is merely a paraphrase of several sentences he had copied from one of Bacon's essays:

By leaving a student to himself, he may possibly indeed be led to undertake matters above his strength: but the trial will at least have this advantage, it will discover to himself his own deficiencies; and this discovery alone, is a very considerable acquisition. One inconvenience, I acknowledge, may attend bold and arduous attempts; frequent failure may discourage. This evil, however, is not more pernicious than the slow proficiency which is the natural consequence of too easy tasks.²

Such notes as he made on his reading he was in the habit of filing with many more or less fragmentary bits of writing, some of which were cancelled passages from previous discourses. These he placed in folders which he labelled "Analogy", "Method of Study", "Self", "Colouring", "Discourses not used", "Michael An-

¹ *Works*, ii, 87. Cf. *ante*, p. 109; *post*, Appendix I, p. 214.

² *Works*, ii, 76; cf. *post*, Appendix I, p. 214.

gelo", "The Advantage of Early Habits", and similar categories. Presumably, when planning to write any given discourse, the author turned to these folders of his, and picked out from them whatever related to the subject on which he was to speak. In this way he would be doing what he recommended painters to do when arranging figures in a picture. At such a time he advised "every Artist to look over his port-folio, or pocket-book, in which he has treasured up all the happy inventions, all the extraordinary and expressive attitudes that he has met with in the course of his studies".¹

As the 10th of December drew near, the day when the lecture was to be read, he would stay up until an early hour in the morning, pacing up and down, taking a considerable quantity of snuff, dashing his thoughts upon paper, crossing out what he had written, writing the same idea in two or three different forms. When Northcote lived at Leicester Fields, he used to hear his master at such a time "walking at intervals in his room as if in meditation, till one or two o'clock in the morning".² As Sir Joshua said, to put his ideas into something like order was to his inexperience no easy task. He once told a friend "that he never painted a picture, or part of a picture, well till he had done it several times".³ The remark applies as well to his writing. What he published is in general highly polished; it was written and rewritten many times before it met with the author's approval.

A page has survived which illustrates how he commenced a lecture;⁴ he has near him some random notes on the backs of envelopes, on loose sheets of paper, and in commonplace books. He has in mind the general topic on which he is to speak, but has as yet no settled notion of how to approach his subject. It is clear enough

¹ *Works*, ii, 86.

² *Northcote*, ii, 315.

³ P. W. Clayden's *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*, Boston, 1888, 272.

⁴ Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 219 (IV, 1).

that this page was originally designed for the fourth discourse, which continues the treatment of the Grand Style that was begun in the third. One need but turn to the beginning of the fourth discourse as printed to discover that this fragment was totally discarded. The very sentiments have been altered. Sir Joshua, like many another, wrote much more than he published.

That I have had the temerity to bring some of these discards to light is a matter open undoubtedly to criticism. "Life is surely given us for higher purposes", thunders the Rambler, "than to gather what our ancestors have wisely thrown away, and to learn what is of no value but because it has been forgotten."¹ And yet the author of the *Discourses*, if consistent, could hardly object to my design. Speaking of painters, he once wrote: "It appears to me therefore, that our first thoughts, that is, the effect which any thing produces on our minds, on its first appearance, is never to be forgotten; and it demands for that reason, because it is the first, to be laid up with care."² Applying this to his writings, it might be said that if there be any value in the *Discourses* and if there be any interest in tracing the workings of the author's mind, his first thoughts are worth preserving. And the Rambler himself can be quoted as approving such a plan. "To those who have skill to estimate the excellence and difficulty of this great work", he wrote of Pope's *Iliad*, "it must be very desirable to know how it was performed, and by what gradations it advanced to correctness."³ Pope, to be sure, is recognized as one of the great men of letters England has produced; yet more people to-day read the *Discourses* than Pope's translations of Homer.

The fragments reprinted in Appendix II suggest that Sir Joshua normally began by writing of what he himself had experienced, but by the time he had prepared his

¹ *Rambler*, no. 121.

² *Works*, ii, 115.

³ *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Hill, Oxford, 1905, iii, 119.

manuscript for the public, the personal or specific had given way to a generalization of this. He began with the particular and ended with an abstraction. In what is perhaps the most personal of his lectures, the fourteenth, which is devoted to an estimation of the powers of Gainsborough, the relations of the two men are mentioned in a way that is most disappointing to posterity. "Without entering into a detail of what passed at this last interview" introduces his comments. Had a Boswell reported the dialogue between the dying Gainsborough and his successful rival, succeeding generations would have read the record with delight. But to Sir Joshua the introduction of himself was bad taste, and petty details were never as significant as the moral which was to be derived therefrom. The extracts printed by Cotton prove that much of the early draft was suppressed, apparently because it related too much to the speaker:

I have seen copies after Vandyck and Teniers, which it would be very difficult for the most accurate connoisseur to distinguish from originals. I remember on my declaring that I had looked at a copy by Gainsborough, after a portrait of Vandyck, a great while before I could determine whether it was a copy or an original—a man of wit politely said—'*You may venture to say so much, but the generality of connoisseurs could not afford it;*' observing that '*they would think it a great disgrace to be in the least doubt.*'¹

Another suppressed passage may have derived from conversation at the Club:

I wish not to appear like a panegyrist, nor to have stinted him in his lawful claims to our admiration. I hope to apply to those who think I might on this occasion have overlooked his deficiencies what was said of a professed and enthusiastic admirer of Shakespeare. A more sober and judicious critic observed '*he was certain he did not feel that superior excellence, from his indiscriminate admiration of his defects, as well as of his beauties.*'²

¹ Cotton's *Gleanings*, 224. Cf. *Whitley*, i, 264.

² Cotton's *Gleanings*, 226.

Unlike Boswell, he shrank from referring to himself in public, and sincerely believing that "the general idea constitutes real excellence",¹ he usually reduced what he had to say to a generalization.

Let us assume that after several sleepless nights he has the manuscript in some semblance of order. It is then that he desires aid from a friend. Much has been written to the effect that Sir Joshua was not the author of his *Discourses*, that they were actually written by Dr Johnson or Edmund Burke. The passages printed in Appendix II prove conclusively that these statements are as erroneous as they are unfair. The truth seems to have been what might have been suspected—that these men acted as critics and helped Sir Joshua to deliver lectures which were more polished than they otherwise would have been. Nor does this prove him an inferior writer. We know that he himself acted as critic for Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, Beattie's *Essay on Beauty*, Crabbe's *Village*, Astle's *Origin and Progress of Writing* (in part), and Gilpin's *Essay on Picturesque Beauty*, to name a few works for which we have definite proof. It is only natural that he should seek the same sort of aid in his own writings, and it is not surprising that the man on whom he chiefly relied should have been the friend for whom he had the greatest respect as writer and thinker.

That Johnson helped him has long been known. James Northcote, who as pupil lived in Sir Joshua's house from 1771 to 1776, mentions having seen the manuscript of a discourse "after it had been revised by Dr. Johnson, who has sometimes altered it to a wrong meaning, from his total ignorance of the subject and of art".² This statement and a remark by Malone that he thought it probable Sir Joshua submitted his manuscript to Johnson have until recently been the most

¹ *Works*, i, 82 et seq.

² *Northcote*, ii, 315; cf. *Works*, i, xlv

definite ones we have had on the subject. In 1920 the text of one of the only two letters extant from Reynolds to Johnson was given in a catalogue issued by Sotheby and Co.¹ This letter, requesting literary criticism, is dated 17 December and therefore could not refer to revisions made before delivering one of the lectures, but is an additional proof that Johnson acted as Sir Joshua's literary adviser. Another bit of evidence has heretofore been unnoticed. In the Reynolds MSS. in the Royal Academy there is a portion of the eleventh discourse, which was read at the Academy just two years before Johnson's death. In the seventeen lines there are five corrections, and of these at least two are in the hand that wrote *Rasselas*. Sir Joshua had written of Titian's skill in colouring and chiaroscuro and his neglect of petty detail:

His great care was to express the general colour, to preserve the masses of light and shade, and to give by opposition the idea of that solidity which is inseparable from natural objects. When those are preserved, though with nothing more, the work will have in a proper place its compleat effect; but where any of these are wanting, however minutely laboured the picture may be in the detail, the whole will have a false and even an unfinished appearance, at whatever distance, or in whatever light, it is placed.²

For the two concluding words of the paragraph Johnson substituted in his small hand "can be shewn". The correction, crossed out, was rewritten in Sir Joshua's hand. It may have been Johnson who deleted the "in" in the sentence that followed, an obvious improvement. It was certainly Johnson who rewrote the opening sentence in the next paragraph. Once more Sir Joshua crossed out Johnson's substitutions and rewrote them in his own

¹ *Letters*, 57. Cf. *ante*, p. 46.

² *Works*, ii, 50, altered to conform to the passage as first printed. The manuscript (see illustration) is printed below in Appendix II, p. 233 (XI, 1).

hand. Was this to make the scribe less likely to spread the report that the painter was not the author of his lecture, or was it merely his way of indicating that he approved the amendment?

In any case the page is highly instructive, indicating what share Johnson had in Sir Joshua's literary ventures. As has long been pointed out, he knew little about the fine arts and cared less. What he could and did do was to make the discourses more resounding, more melodious. Although no other page containing his corrections has come to light, many other phrases that pass for Sir Joshua's were doubtless polished by his friend. Such a phrase, for instance, as his receipt for genius ("assiduity unabated by difficulty, and a disposition eagerly directed to the object of its pursuit")¹ sounds suspiciously Johnsonian. But the pupil seems to have been unimpressed with the exaggerated type of Johnsonese:

To speak of genius and taste, as in any way connected with reason or common sense, would be, in the opinion of some towering talkers, to speak like a man who possessed neither; who had never felt that enthusiasm, or, to use their own inflated language, was never warmed by that Promethean fire, which animates the canvas and vivifies the marble.²

The majority of the Johnsonian phrases employed by Reynolds are found in the earlier discourses, and George Stevens, who read proof on at least one occasion, was probably not far from the truth when he told Farington that "Sir Joshua was entirely the author of all his latter discourses, but... might have [had] some assistance in His former ones, as they were more correct than would be expected from one not accustomed to composition".³ Such a statement should not be interpreted as meaning that Reynolds was not the author of his "Works"; it suggests what has already been said, that he submitted

¹ *Works*, i, 44.

² *Id.* i, 193.

³ Farington's *Diary*, i, 207.

his writings to Johnson for criticism. When Johnson died, Langton remarked to Sir John Hawkins: "We shall now know whether he has or has not assisted Sir Joshua in his 'Discourses'." But Johnson had assured Hawkins that "his assistance had never exceeded the substitution of a word or two", in preference to what Sir Joshua had written.¹

The remarks of Northcote and Steevens and Langton illustrate how widespread such sentiments were. Another whose thoughts on the subject were recorded was Horace Walpole. Early in 1785, after reading the twelfth discourse, he wrote in his unpublished "Book of Materials":

S^r Joshua Reynolds's Last Discourse to the Royal Academy was observed to be much more incorrect in the style than any of his former & was therefore supposed to have wanted the assistance of his friend Dr Johnson, who was dying when it was composed. If Dr Johnson aided S^r Joshua in his Discourses, he was kinder to them than to his own compositions, for they are elegant, & have none of Johnson's awkward pedantic verbosity & want of grace. I have rather thought that² Mr Burke, a far more polished Writer than Johnson assisted S^r Joshua—if he was assisted.³

Walpole's final observation introduces the other name most frequently mentioned in this connection. Indeed positive assertions have been made that Burke was the sole writer of the *Discourses*. According to the author of a biographical notice of Burke which appeared in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* for 1810: "Every one of those addresses, which have so much delighted the artists of Europe, was written by Mr. Burke." The article is clearly based on a memoir of Burke which had been

¹ Lætitia Matilda Hawkins in F. H. Skrine's *Gossip About Dr Johnson and Others*, London, 1926, 72.

² MS. than.

³ From a photostat (Book of 1771, f. 112) in the possession of Wilmarth S. Lewis, Esq. The original is in the Folger Library, Washington.

published in 1797 and which is filled with an amazing amount of misinformation:

Sir Joshua's literary fame owed not only its support but its very existence to Mr. Burke. It was fortunate for the latter that Sir Joshua's ambition was not confined to the attainment of excellence in his own art, for which nature had eminently qualified him, but aspired to the higher sphere of eloquence, though he could rise to it only by borrowed wings. After reading the *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, he eagerly sought out the author and endeavoured to secure his friendship. . . . Frequent intercourse left no doubt in Sir Joshua's mind, that the man who had written so well on the principles of the elegant arts in general, was best qualified to display the utmost refinement of taste, and brilliancy of genius in dissertations on painting in particular. The unbounded admiration, with which Sir Joshua's discourses were afterwards heard, and are still read by the whole world, shews how judicious and happy he was in his choice of an assistant. It has hitherto been kept a secret not only from the public, but from the private friends of both, that those discourses were the production of Mr. Burke's pen. This truth we shall fully illustrate.¹

His "illustration", a series of undocumented statements, follows:

As the Academy was to be opened on the second of January 1769 with an address from the president, Mr. Burke prepared for the task with all the enthusiastic ardor which friendship, gratitude, and a noble consciousness of his equality to the attempt, could inspire. . . . It is not easy to resist the temptation of making . . . extracts from this wonderful performance, and from the other discourses, prepared by the same writer, executed in the same stile, and delivered by the president at the annual distribution of the prizes during his continuance in the chair. . . . Sir Joshua first made out a sketch of the subject, and furnished such hints as chiefly related to painting and sculpture. These Mr. Burke took for his text; but did not restrain the effusions of his own genius upon any topic arising out of, or naturally connected with them. A copy was then sent to Sir Joshua, who, at his leisure, superadded any new ideas that occurred to him and returned the performance interlined with those farther suggestions. . . . It must

¹ Charles M'Cormick's *Memoirs of . . . Burke*, London, 1797, 28 *et seq.*

be observed, that sir Joshua himself was very willing to encourage the idea of his being under an obligation of that sort to Dr. Johnson,¹ with a view, no doubt, of diverting conjecture from his real assistant. . . . He died on the twenty-third of February 1792, . . . not forgetting to give Mr. Burke a strong proof of his liberal and sincere regard. He cancelled a bond for two thousand pounds which he had lent to Mr. Burke, and added to that favor a bequest of two thousand pounds more. . . . A man so ambitious of literary fame as the president, and in a state of so much affluence, could hardly deem any purchase or any return too high for the gratification of his fondest wishes.²

He ridicules Malone, who had just brought out the first edition of Sir Joshua's *Works*, for not having distinguished Burke's hand in the manuscripts Sir Joshua had left, and ends by saying:

After this statement of facts, it is unnecessary to refute in detail, some insinuations which have been lately thrown out of Dr. Johnson's having assisted in writing the *Academical Discourses*. . . . We have shewn who the real author was.³

Malone's reply was a note that first appeared in the second edition of Sir Joshua's *Works*:

Among many other statements concerning the late Mr. Burke, which I know to be erroneous, we have been confidently told that [the *Discourses*] were written by that gentleman.

The readers of poetry are not to learn, that a similar tale has been told of some of our celebrated English poets. According to some, Denham did not write his admired *Cooper's Hill*; and with a certain species of criticks, our great moral poet tells us,

"—most authors steal their works, or buy;

"Garth did not write his own *Dispensary*.

Such insinuations, however agreeable to the envious and malignant, who may give them a temporary currency, can have but little weight with the judicious and ingenuous part of mankind, and therefore in general merit only silent contempt. But that Mr. Burke was the author of all such parts of these *Discourses*

¹ That Sir Joshua was unwilling to encourage such an idea has been shown in the introduction (*ante*, pp. xviii *et seq.*).

² *Id.* pp. 91 *et seq.*

³ *Id.* p. 100.

as do not relate to painting and sculpture, (what these are, the discoverer of this pretended secret has not informed us,) has lately been so peremptorily asserted, and so particular an appeal has been made on this occasion to their editor, that I think it my duty to refute this injurious calumny, lest posterity should be deceived and misled by the minuteness of uncontradicted misrepresentation, delivered to the world with all the confidence of truth.

He then definitely asserts that he never saw any of the *Discourses* in Burke's handwriting, and that "the whole body of these admirable works was composed by Sir Joshua Reynolds". He continues:

I do not mean to assert, that he did not avail himself of the judgment of his critical friends, to render them as perfect as he could; or that he was above receiving from them that species of literary assistance which every candid literary man is willing to receive, and which even that transcendent genius, Mr. Burke, in some instances did not disdain to accept. . . . I have no doubt that some were submitted to Dr. Johnson, and some to Mr. Burke, for their examination and revision; and probably each of those persons suggested to their author some minute verbal improvements.¹

These are the words of the man who more than any other then alive was qualified to pronounce upon Sir Joshua's literary practices. There is no difficulty in choosing between the unsupported statements of a deservedly forgotten biographer of Burke and the refutation by the trained scholar, who at the same time was the close friend of Burke and Reynolds. But Malone is not content with a mere contradiction. To supplement his assertion he included in his revised memoir a portion of a letter which Burke wrote to him upon reading the first edition of Sir Joshua's *Works*. No one who had composed the *Discourses* himself could have written the letter which Burke sent to Malone.²

The help that Burke gave Sir Joshua was certainly no more extensive than that supplied by Johnson. Northcote admitted he had seen Johnson's corrections, but

¹ *Works*, i, xlii et seq.

² *Works*, i, xxxii et seq.

maintained he had never found "the marks of Burke's pen on any of the manuscripts".¹ Once late in 1774, while the pupil was at work in the adjoining room, he overheard Sir Joshua reading a paragraph from his sixth discourse, which was about to be delivered. And he heard Burke comment: "This is, indeed, excellent, nobody can mend it, no man could say it better."² To this extent Burke aided his friend. His hand appears on none of the many pages among the Reynolds manuscripts in the Royal Academy.

After the discourse had met with the approval of some "critical friend", it was given to an amanuensis, who made a fair copy of it which could be read at the Academy. I have already suggested that in the case of the inaugural address the scribe was his pupil Charles Gill. Another who filled this position was the ever-willing James Northcote. "I have had the rude manuscript from himself in his own hand writing, in order to make a fair copy from it for him, to read it in public", he wrote in 1813.³ It is now possible to verify this. Northcote resided with Sir Joshua from 1771 until the spring of 1776, during which period the fourth, fifth, and sixth discourses were written. On 19 December, 1771, he wrote to his brother: "So bad as my hand writing was always thought, Sir Joshua liked it very well, and I writ out his discourse which he read from, at the Royal Academy."⁴ A year later (30 December, 1772) he wrote: "I can only tell you such trifles as that I writ out sir Joshua's discourse and he left it till the last day that he was to speak it in the evening so that if Gill had not assisted me it could not have been done soon enough." The fourth discourse, then, was

¹ *Northcote*, ii, 315; in later life the biographer decided that Burke might have helped Sir Joshua (Hazlitt's *Conversations of James Northcote*, London, 1830, 84).

² *Northcote*, ii, 316.

³ *Northcote*, ii, 315.

⁴ This and the following extract are from the original letters in the Royal Academy. First published in *Whitley*, ii, 285, 293.

copied by Northcote alone, and the fifth by two pupils jointly. Presumably Northcote gave his services as well for the sixth, and later discourses were probably copied by his successors. The scribe for the final one was his niece, Mary Palmer, who may have acted in this capacity for some of the other later discourses. Writing to her cousin, William Johnson, at the end of 1789, she refers to Sir Joshua's loss of one eye and his care of the other: "the dread of what may happen if he uses it a great deal intirely deters him from either painting, writing, or reading. for these last four months I have spent all my time in reading to him, & writing all that he wants to have done." Three months later she informs her correspondent that "his Eye is strong enough to write a little himself".¹

After the discourse had been delivered, but before it was sent to the printer, it underwent further revision, and at this stage also Sir Joshua seems to have called upon his critical friends. The one instance of this sort about which we have definite information is the help given to him by Edmond Malone. Recent discoveries have proved this gentleman to have been even more generous with his literary assistance than had been supposed. We now know that he not only spent hours with Boswell moulding the *Life of Johnson*, but had a considerable share in giving form to its precursor, the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.² He was equally friendly with Reynolds. To prove that Sir Joshua was sole author of the writings which appeared under his name, Malone wrote:

Four of the latter Discourses, in his own handwriting, and warm from the brain, the author did me the honour to submit to my perusal; and with great freedom I suggested to him some verbal alterations, and some new arrangements, in each of them, which he very readily adopted. Of one I well remember he gave

¹ Cf. *post*, p. 173 n. 2.

² *Boswell Papers*, vi, *passim*.

me the general outline in conversation, as we returned together from an excursion to the country, and before it was yet committed to paper. He soon afterwards composed that Discourse conformably to the plan which he had crayoned out, and sent it to me for such remarks on the language of it as should occur to me. When he wrote his last Discourse, I was not in London; and that Discourse, I know, was submitted to the critical examination of another friend; and that friend was not Mr. Burke.¹

One of the four which Malone criticised was the thirteenth, as is proved by the letter Reynolds wrote to him 15 December, 1786. Another letter to Malone, once in the possession of Boswell, closes with this sentence: "I have sent by your servant my Discourse which I shall take as a great favour if you not only will examine critically but will likewise add a little elegance."²

When the imprimatur was finally obtained, the manuscript was sent to the official printer to the Academy, a position occupied successively by William Bunce, William Griffin, Tom Davies, and Thomas Cadell. Apparently at this stage the author once more turned to his friends for help. At least on one occasion George Steevens read proof, and in doing so examined the manuscript, which was written so correctly that he found but few words which required transposing.³

The printing was generally begun before the end of the year, but not completed until the beginning of the new year. Two of the discourses, the second and the thirteenth, bear on the title-page the same year as that in which they were delivered, but neither of these was issued in that year. The Academy did not vote the printing of the second until January, and Sir Joshua was unable to send the thirteenth to Hendrik Jansen until 10 January, apologizing for the delay, which was "on account of the Christmas holydays when the Printers men will not work".⁴ The fourteenth was not published

¹ *Works*, i, xlv.

² *Letters*, 170, 185.

³ Farington's *Diary*, i, 207.

⁴ *Letters*, 172.

until June and the fifteenth seems to have been delayed until early in March, but in general they were brought out in January, about a month following the reading of the lecture.

It is safe to assume that the sale of the discourses was almost negligible. Most people who would be interested in them, either for subject-matter or for their authorship, received copies from Sir Joshua himself. His letters are full of the names of people to whom he sent them, his fellow-members of the Club, many of the nobility who had sat to him, members of the Academy, prominent politicians, and the large army of blue-stockings. Many copies were sent to India, to Sir William Jones, Sir Robert Chambers, Lord Cornwallis, and the like.¹ Many were sent to friends in Ireland. Benjamin West's copies, once owned by Charles Eliot Norton, are in the Harvard College Library, while a complete set of those presented to the first secretary of the Academy, Francis Newton, are in the British Museum. In Appendix IV, when giving a bibliographical description of each discourse, I have named all the recipients of whom I have any record. Printed in pamphlet form, the majority of copies have perished, but enough have survived to make it clear that they were published primarily to be given away by the author. Generally speaking, when a copy turns up which does not seem to have been autographed by Sir Joshua, it lacks the half-title on which the inscription usually appeared. That it was not easy for people to secure them for the asking is the inference to be drawn from a sentence written by Samuel Johnson, Sir Joshua's nephew, to his sister: "I did not forget Mama's commission about my Uncle's discourses the first time, but find it is impossible to get them except from the Book-

¹ "My Uncle sends a Discourse to Governor Hastings and My Aunt [Frances] has procur'd it to be sent to Bill [William Johnson], who is to carry it himself to the Governor." *Sir Joshua's Nephew*, 35.

seller."¹ This was in 1775. More than ten years later, when Sir Joshua was revising them, he found great difficulty in making up a complete set. The earlier ones were long out of print.

As the early ones appeared they received flattering notices in the periodicals. In one the reviewer remarks that these writings in themselves justify the existence of the then newly formed Academy. Later still he prophesies that they may become "the best work upon the practice and theory of painting that has yet appeared in the world".² Congratulations poured into the studio in Leicester Fields. Poems, or rather verses, were penned in Sir Joshua's honour, praising him for being a writer as well as a painter. It was the fashion to read the president's latest address. Young Samuel Johnson, already referred to, complains that he has "not had the least time to read, not even Uncle's Discourse, which every Body has read".³ Old Samuel Johnson, whom we have seen helping the author write them, showed his admiration for them in a characteristic way. "He observed one day of a passage in them, 'I think I might as well have said this myself:' and once when Mr. Langton was sitting by him, he read one of them very eagerly, and expressed himself thus: 'Very well, Master Reynolds; very well, indeed. But it will not be understood'."⁴ Hannah More's comment is typical of the attitude of the blue-stockings. Of the sixth discourse she wrote: "in my poor judgment it is a masterpiece for matter as well as style, and that we have scarcely a finer writer."⁵ The Bishop of London calls the final discourse "the work of a *Great Master*, whose name will be as much and as justly revered by this country, as that of Michael Angelo is by his".⁶ Success had crowned his efforts.

¹ *Id.* 86.

² *Gent. Mag.*, xli, 323 (July, 1771); xlii, 184 (April, 1772).

³ *Sir Joshua's Nephew*, 44.

⁴ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 320.

⁵ W. Roberts's *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, London, 1834, i, 58.

⁶ Cotton's *Notes*, 70.



CHAPTER IX

JOHNSONIANA

"Mr Boswell has just sent me his 'Johnsoniana', which is one of the most entertaining books I ever read."

Sir Joshua to the Duke of Rutland, 26 September, 1785.

When the writings of Sir Joshua were finally collected and published in 1797, there were none which revealed his friendship for Samuel Johnson. Sir Joshua was to be judged as an author by what he had written of the fine arts. Malone, his literary executor, saw fit to omit from his edition the *jeu d'esprit* in dialogue form, *Johnson and Garrick*, and the character sketch of Dr Johnson. Neither had been written for publication, but in each is preserved much information about his circle that would otherwise have perished.

For some years before and after Johnson's death one of the more popular forms of entertainment among his friends was imitating him. Langton and Boswell were most addicted to this, but many others tried their hands at it. Mrs Thrale and Fanny Burney, Fanny Reynolds and Hannah More were among those who wrote down what he said. Sir Joshua, being an artist, went further than this. What he has done in *Johnson and Garrick* is to "collect, as if into *two* conversations, what had been uttered at *many*, and heighten the effect by the juxtaposition of such discordant opinions".¹ The result unquestionably is the most delightful bit of writing we have from his pen.

¹ Croker, as quoted by Hill in *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 232.

When the dialogues were written is unknown. Until very recently all that was known of them before their publication in 1816 was that Sir Joshua presented a manuscript copy of them to Sir George Beaumont.¹ We now know as well that on the evening of 9 September, 1790, the dialogues were read by the author to Boswell, Dr French Laurence, and Malone.² Had they been written much earlier than this, one would have expected Boswell to have ferreted them out sooner. Since Sir Joshua did not cease painting until the middle of 1789, and since the only known manuscript of the dialogues is in the hand of Mary Palmer, who served as her uncle's amanuensis from that time until his death, they must have been composed late in 1789 or, more probably, in 1790. Presumably they were based on notes taken between 1779 and 1781, since in the dialogues Thrale is supposed to be living and Garrick to be dead.

At the time Sir Joshua was reading his composition to his friends, Boswell with Malone's assistance was putting the finishing touches to the *Life of Johnson*. It may have been after this reading, then, that he included the sentence: "Sir Joshua Reynolds observed, with great truth, that Johnson considered Garrick to be as it were his *property*. He would allow no man either to blame or to praise Garrick in his presence, without contradicting him."³ There is another passage in the *Life* which almost certainly derives from this source. That it was inserted as a footnote indicates that it was added after the original page was ready for press. In the text Johnson had been quoted as saying of Garrick: "I remember drinking tea with him long ago, when Peg Woffington made it, and he grumbled at her for making it too strong." In the note to this Boswell employs a phrase which is found in the dialogues: "When Johnson told this little anecdote to

¹ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 232.

² *Boswell Papers*, xviii, 94.

³ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 312.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, he mentioned a circumstance which he omitted to-day:—‘Why (said Garrick) it is as red as blood’.”¹

The manuscript of the dialogues which was later used by the printer is now in the Yale University Library, the gift of Mr Gabriel Wells, of New York. It is in the hand of Mary Palmer, as has been said, but has been corrected by Sir Joshua himself. These corrections tend to make Johnson’s remarks briefer, more forceful, and more pointed.² In every case the revised form is superior to the earlier version.

Twenty-four years after Sir Joshua’s death the dialogues were privately printed by Mary Palmer, who had become Lady Thomond. My copy of this fifteen-page pamphlet is inscribed by W. G. Price of Torrington, who married one of Sir Joshua’s great-nieces: “Privately published by M^{rs}. Gwatkin.” Doubtless Lady Thomond discussed the matter with her sister, but there seems to be no good reason to disbelieve Leslie’s statement that it was she and not Mrs Gwatkin who had the pamphlet printed.³ She had been the original scribe, and the

¹ *Id.* 264. Cf. *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 239. Other echoes of the dialogues in the *Life* are pointed out by Hill, but the resemblances in them may have been fortuitous.

² To illustrate the nature of Sir Joshua’s revisions, the following example should suffice. Towards the end of the second dialogue Johnson was originally quoted as saying: “Garrick could not do impossibilities, it was out of his power to satisfy all. besides, sir, I do not see why that should be imputed as a crime, which we all so irresistibly feel & consider as no great crime to practise; that is to make a greater exertion in the presence of new men than old acquaintance; it is undoubtedly true that Garrick had extended his friendship so far that but little was left for any individual.” The revised passage is much more compact: “besides, sir, I do not see why that should be imputed to him as a crime, which we all so irresistibly feel and practise; we all make a greater exertion in the presence of new men than old acquaintance; it is undoubtedly true that Garrick divided his attention among so many that but little was left to the share of any individual.”

³ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 249 n.

directions to the printer are also in her hand. She had inherited the bulk of her uncle's estate, had been instrumental in having the monument erected to him in St Paul's, and would have been the logical person to circulate this as an additional souvenir of her uncle's greatness. Mrs Gwatkin did present to their friend Miss Edgeworth the copy which is now in the Johnson Museum at Lichfield, but Hannah More, Mrs Siddons, Lord Sheffield, and Lord Ossory received their copies from Lady Thomond.¹

Privately printed in 1816, the dialogues were made public in the same year when they appeared in the *London New Monthly Magazine* of August. Three months later they were copied in the *North American Review*. A few years after this they were incorporated with permission in the memoirs of Lætitia Matilda Hawkins and in the following decade were published in Croker's edition of Boswell's *Life*. The most recent edition is that brought out in 1927 at the Cayme Press with an introduction by R. Brimley Johnson. The errors in this introduction have been silently corrected above, but Mr Johnson's bibliographical note is equally inaccurate. "There has been no reprint since 1856", he writes, referring to their appearance in Cotton's *Gleanings*. He thus overlooks the fact that they are included in the biographies of Leslie and Taylor (1865) and of Sir Walter Armstrong (1900), that a thoroughly annotated edition of them is to be found in *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (1897), and that they also appear in Mrs Clement Parsons's *Garrick and His Circle* (1906) and in F. H. Skrine's *Gossip About*

¹ *Id.* 259. Mrs Siddons's copy is one of three in the British Museum; Lord Sheffield's is in the Brick Row Book Shop, New York; Lord Ossory's is in the Theatre Collection of the Harvard College Library. Among the Reynolds MSS. lent to the Royal Academy by Rupert Colomb, Esq. is a copy in Mary Palmer's hand, of a letter Miss Edgeworth wrote from France in 1792, describing the king's execution from the point of view of her brother, who was Louis XVI's priest.

Dr Johnson and Others (1926). That they have so frequently been reprinted is testimony to their worth.

It may be that Sir Joshua once intended writing a sequel to these dialogues. Such at least is one possible interpretation of three unpublished manuscript pages in my possession. The subject is drinking—a subject which we know to have been argued more than once by Reynolds and Johnson. Sir Joshua's account should be compared with similar discussions recorded by Boswell on 12 April, 1776 and 28 April, 1778.¹

The Conversation turned on Drinking. Dr. Johnson at this time was a water drinker. Sir J. stood up in defence of Drinking a cheerfull Glass and regretted that Dr. Johnson had left it off.

J. It does nobody any good, it impares both his body and mind.

[R.] I am inclined to agree [*supra*, think] with you that spiritous liquors do no good in respect to health, and that its general effect is to shorten life by consuming of animal spirits in one day what ought to serve for two, and if it affects the body, it may by degrees enfeeble the mind, as they generally go together but for the present minute wine certainly contributes to give him a disposition to be pleas'd with himself and with every thing about him

J. He may be more pleas'd with himself but he is more displeasing to others I know nothing so disagreeable as a drunken man coming into sober company

R. I think so too, I am no advocate for drunkenness but even short of drunkenness a man wrought up to high spirits I agree is not a fit companion for a new company in a quiescent state - their minds are not in Unison with each other. I remember Boswell when you came in late to our Club in high spirits from dining with Lord Mountstewart.

If this was to have been a part of another pair of dialogues, Sir Joshua could truthfully have had Johnson turn around and take as his own Sir Joshua's arguments. Boswell quotes a remark of Johnson's which is almost

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 41, 327 *et seq.*

identical with the last speech of Sir Joshua's above: "A man, who has been drinking wine at all freely, should never go into a new company. With those who have partaken of wine with him, he may be pretty well in unison; but he will probably be offensive, or appear ridiculous, to other people."¹

Sir Joshua's argument in favour of drinking is continued on another folio in my possession:

Wine give[s] no help to Reason but to imagination what the mind in its cool minutes has collected and made up, he better expresses when his blood is warmed than he would have been able to do without that help, but on a subject [on] which he has not previously thought he is not likely to succeed the better for it he loses the chain of argument or any discourse that requires long deduction

When this was written is problematical. In January, 1775, Johnson wrote to Boswell: "Reynolds has taken too much to strong liquor, and seems to delight in his new character." To this Boswell has added the note: "It should be recollected, that this fanciful description of his friend was given by Johnson after he himself had become a water-drinker."² This suggests an approximate date for the discussion. The allusion to Boswell's drinking with his Mæcenæ, the son of the Earl of Bute, also points to 1775. On 31 March Boswell dined with Mountstuart and after drinking too much went to the Club, where his drunken remarks annoyed his associates.³

Another folio in the same collection indicates that Sir Joshua contemplated writing a critique on Johnson's literary ability:

The chief advantage that proceeds from young people's reading novels is the habit they acquire of seeking for and finding their amusements in Books. But it gives them very little real

¹ Boswell's *Life*, ii, 436.

² Boswell's *Life*, ii, 292.

³ *Boswell Papers*, x, 168 *et seq.*

knowledge of life If on the contrary we could suppose Novels writ by an Angel or some superior Being whose comprehensive faculties could develope and lay open the inmost recesses of the human mind, give the result of their experience compressed together in characters and exhibit this in the garb of play or amusement only by being conveyd in some story mixed with interesting events which totally occupy and fix the attention and such Events as might have happend to every reader, supposing his rank whether from being too high or too lower had not exempted him from such accidents, or ever being in such situations, Such a Novel would give in a few hours the experience of ages, such a Novel is *Raslas* what is here done whatever part of life it develops the result the moral is undoubted truth

Together with these fragments in my possession is a far more important manuscript, the rough draft of Sir Joshua's character sketch of Dr Johnson. It consists of fourteen folios, many of which are covered on both sides. Some of the pages are filled with incoherent notes that are elsewhere expanded. What is clear at the outset is that we have here not one unified essay, as has always been thought, but several different drafts, none of which is in final form.

While engaged in writing his biography of Reynolds, C. R. Leslie was allowed to copy the manuscript, which at that time was in the possession of Miss Gwatkin. "I have transcribed the paper exactly," he wrote, "except in the matter of punctuation, and in the introduction, now and then, of a word, between brackets, to complete the sense."¹ Leslie was an honest and conscientious biographer, but he was seldom accurate in his copies of manuscripts, and the statement just quoted becomes bizarre when his transcript is compared with the original. Unfortunately his inaccuracies have misled such a scholar as Birkbeck Hill and hence all students of the period who have cause to refer to Sir Joshua's sketch.²

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 454.

² Hill's profusely annotated reprint of Leslie's text is included in *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 219 *et seq.*

In printing what Sir Joshua actually wrote, I have thought it better in this instance to normalise the punctuation. I have attempted to differentiate between the various drafts, dividing the pages into three groups. The first of these consists of random notes, most of which are developed in pages of the second or third groups. Where I have found the same statement appearing on three different pages, I have assumed that we have the genesis of the idea, the rough draft, and the revised version. In arranging the sheets I have retained the numbering given them by a former owner. I have been handicapped, of course, by not having seen all that Sir Joshua wrote on the subject. A missing page naturally destroys what continuity of thought there was. But it seems more sensible to attempt such an arrangement than to print the manuscript as has been done.

According to the scheme adopted, the first group consists of five pages which are on the whole less polished and less organised than the rest and for that reason seem to have been the earliest written:

Of his Learning as a Grammarian His English Dictionary f. 11
testifies. His skill in Biograp[h]y and Criticism is shewn in His
lives of the English Poets.

His penetration and skill in devloping the source of the passions,
the human mind, is discoverd in his moral Essays.

Of these acquisitions, superior as he was to all His Cotem-
poraries, I shall say nothing, but leave to others to give him that
praise which he justly deserves. It is for higher qualities that he
has acquired the esteem and respect of all men who respect Piety
& Virtue. His Writings and His Conduct in life were / employed f. 11 verso
in the promoting to the utmost of his Power Virtue and Piety.

As in his Writings not a line can be found which a saint could
wish to blot, so in his life he would never suffer the least im-
morality, indecency, or any conversation contrary to Virtue [or]
Piety to proceed without a severe check, which no elevation of
rank exempted them from.

Such a reverence for truth [did he have] that he never in-

fringed on it even in the slightest matter;¹ from his reverence to truth he measured out his approbation or dislike.

In his last minutes he receiv'd great comfort from the recollection that he hoped he had endeavour'd² to promote the Cause of Virtue, / and of his Virtues the most distinguish'd was his love of Truth.

f. 8 He sometimes, it must be confess'd, Coverd his ignorance in generals, rather than appear ignorant or to be conquer'd in argument, which he never would suffer even the appearance, and indeed to avoid it he may be said to fight with all sorts of whepons, overb[e]aring rudeness not excepted. You will wonder to hear a person who loved him so sincerely speak thus freely of his friend, but you must recollect I am not writing his panygirick, but [am] as if upon oath not only to give the truth but the whole truth *and nothing but the truth*.

His pride had no meanness in it; there was nothing little or mean about him.³

living in Company and allways talking his best

When he had made up his mind, he was firm. Burk, for instance; tho he envyd him as much as he did speak.

To those who sought his love, &c. Shakespear.

Lord Chesterfield and him opposed.

His expressions of approbation or dislike were measure[d] with the greatest passion, & it was seldom pleasing at the minute. /

f. 5 This caution appears to be necessary to a Biographer, supposing the Biography to consist in anecdotes, as in Dr. Johnsons case—to proportion the eccentric parts of his character to the proportion of his book. A short book containing an account of all the peculiarities or absurdities of a man would leave on the reader's mind an impression of an absurd character. That Johnson was rude at times cannot be denied, but by reading any account of him you would shrink at the Idea of being in his company. /

f. 6 Every⁴ promenant part of a mans Character—Every eccentric action, when exerted, counts for ten, like some particular cards in Games (ten negatives amount to one affirmation). I know no

¹ The rest of this sentence is added as an afterthought in a footnote. The idea is repeated at the bottom of the next folio.

² *Supra*, allways been an advocate.

³ The words in italics immediately preceding and following this sentence are crossed out. "Of Johnson's pride, I have heard Reynolds himself observe, that if any man drew him into a state of obligation without his own consent, that man was the first he would affront, by way of clearing off the account." (*Northcote*, i, 71.)

⁴ *Supra*, time a. The passage in brackets following this sentence was crossed out.

greater inducement to uniform propriety of conduct than this consideration: how much one breach of uniformity cancels a great number of acts of a regular and conformible consistency.

The germ of everything recorded in later groups is to be found in these pages. After pointing out that both in his writings and his life Johnson sought "to promote the Cause of Virtue", Sir Joshua thinks of his reverence for truth, a point which he rephrases at the top of the third page. But Sir Joshua, trained by his master to respect truth, must confess that there were times when Johnson did not tell the whole truth. Hence the qualifying sentence which follows. This recalls to him Johnson's pride in out-talking a rival, but, writes he, that pride had no meanness in it. His thoughts being on Johnson's conversational abilities, he then jots down the two reasons which explain his pre-eminence, the fact that he was always in society, and that when conversing he made an effort to talk his best. Then he thinks of Johnson's stubbornness—his unwillingness to alter his opinion after once declaring it. There is nothing in the rest of the manuscript to throw light on the reference to Burke. My guess is that Reynolds here intended to develop Johnson's attitude towards Burke's wit. As all readers of Boswell know, Johnson "was strangely unwilling to allow to that extraordinary man the talent of wit". "When Burke does not descend to be merry, his conversation is very superiour indeed. There is no proportion between the powers which he shews in serious talk and in jocularly. When he lets himself down to that, he is in the kennel."¹ We know that among others Malone,

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 323; iv, 276. Cf. v, 32: "We talked of Mr. Burke. Dr. Johnson said, he had great variety of knowledge, store of imagery, copiousness of language. ROBERTSON. 'He has wit too.' JOHNSON. 'No, Sir; he never succeeds there. 'Tis low; 'tis conceit. I used to say, Burke never once made a good joke.'" In his lengthy note on this Boswell wrote: "Sir Joshua Reynolds, who agrees with me entirely as to Mr. Burke's fertility of wit, . . . has often heard Burke say, in the course of an evening, ten good things, each of which would have served a noted wit (whom he named) to live upon for a twelvemonth."

Windham, Boswell, and Reynolds heartily disagreed with this opinion. Hence Sir Joshua may have intended this as an illustration of Johnson's obstinacy.

How he intended to compare Johnson and Chesterfield it is not possible to declare. Since the other memoranda refer to conversation, it is conceivable that Reynolds was thinking of a certain similarity between the two men in this respect. What Reynolds was to write of Johnson is not unlike what Chesterfield had written of himself: "I was early convinced of the importance and powers of eloquence; and from that moment I applied myself to it. I resolved not to utter one word, even in common conversation, that should not be the most expressive, and the most elegant that the language could supply me with for that purpose; by which means I have acquired such a certain degree of habitual eloquence, that I must now really take some pains, if I would express myself very inelegantly."¹ An alternate interpretation of Sir Joshua's cryptic line, equally impossible to prove, but perhaps worth mentioning, is that it is an allusion to Hayley's unreadable pamphlet, anonymously published in 1787 as *Two Dialogues containing a Comparative View of the Lives, Characters, and Writings, of Philip, the late Earl of Chesterfield and Dr Samuel Johnson*. Sir Joshua knew the author and would have read the dialogues for their subject-matter, though he would hardly have approved of the treatment accorded his friend. The general thesis of the pamphlet may be summed up by quoting from one of the last speeches: "My hand would have shrunk from Johnson, as from a hedge-hog; and from Chesterfield, if not as an adder too venomous to be touched, yet certainly as an eel too slippery to be held."² It would have served as additional proof to Reynolds that John-

¹ Quoted by Hill in Boswell's *Life*, iv, 184 n. Cf. *ante*, p. 79, where Sir Joshua refers to another appropriate passage from Chesterfield's letters.

² *Op. cit.* 235. Cf. *ante*, p. 154, the last sentence on f. 5.

son's biographers were concealing the true character of their subject by retailing anecdotes which emphasised his less pleasant idiosyncrasies.

To the five pages which have been arbitrarily placed in Group I two other passages should be added. The first is printed by Cotton, "taken from a paper headed *S. Johnson*".¹ I have not seen the original, but because this is the only excerpt made from it, I assume that if there were other comments, they must have been so fragmentary as to have been considered not worth printing.

Simplicity gave him no pleasure. He could more easily fill the ear with some splendid novelty, than awaken those ideas that slumber in the heart.

The other passage is included in Leslie's version, but some time after he had transcribed it, the original was separated from the rest of the sketch. Not having seen this, I am unable to assign it with conviction to any particular group.

Custom, or politeness, or courtly manners has authorised such an Eastern hyperbolic style of compliment, that part of Dr. Johnson's character for rudeness of manners must be put to the account of this scrupulous adherence to truth. His obstinate silence, whilst all the company were in raptures, vying with each other who should pepper highest,² was considered as rudeness or ill-nature.

So much for what I have considered Group I, which for the most part is a mere collection of notes in which the trend of the later sketch is clearly indicated. Group II, if my hypothesis is correct, was the rough draft of the sketch, written from the notes above and from similar notes which have either been destroyed or at least

¹ Cotton's *Gleanings*, 231.

² Of praise a mere glutton, he swallowed what came,
And the puff of a dunce he mistook it for fame;
Till his relish grown callous, almost to disease,
Who pepper'd the highest was surest to please.
Goldsmith's *Retaliation*, on Garrick.

separated from the other manuscripts. Sir Joshua has numbered the recto of folio 7 "1", the verso "2", and the recto of folio 4 "3".

- f. 7 We are both of Dr. J[ohnson]'s school; for my own part I acknowledge the highest obligations to him¹; he may be said to have formed my mind and to have brushed off from it a deal of rubbish. Those very people whom he has taught to think rightly will occasionally criticise the opinions of their master when he nods, but we should allways recollect that it is he himself who taught us and enabled us to do it.

- The drawback of His Character is entertaining prejudices on very slight foundation—givin[g] an opinion perhaps first at random, but from its being contradicted he thinks himself obliged allways stubbornly to support—or if he could² not support[t], still not to acquiesce. Of this I remember an instance of a defect or forgetfulness in his Dic[tionary]. I asked him how he come not to correct it in the second edition. "No," says [he], "they made so much of it that I would not flatter them by altering it." He would sometimes risque an opinion expres[s]ed /
f. 7 verso in the strongest terms [on a book in] which [he] had read only a few lines; when afterwards he was forced to read it with greater attention in order to give an account of it as a Critic, he thought it righ[t] still to adhered to his first accidental opinion and to use all his skill in vindicating that opinion, which was not difficult for him to do. this was the fat[e] of the Poems of Grey, and in order to depreciate them, the method he seems to have taken is to take up those higher excellencies which are on the verge of defects and condemning³ them as such; thus in moralit[y] it is easy to call a generous man a spendthrift that is ignorant of the value of mon[e]y, a frugal man a miser with[out] a spark of generosity, a gay character an empty fop, and a grave on[e] a
f. 4 stupid blockhead. / It is allways to be rememberd that I am giving a portrait, not a panygirick of Dr. Johnson.

From passion, from the prevalence of his disposition for the minute, he was continually acting contrary to his reason, to his own principles. It was a frequent subject of animadversion with him, how much authors lost of the pleasure and comfort of life by their carrying allways about them their own consequence and celebrity. Yet no man in mixed company—not to his intimates, certainly, for that would be an insupportable slavery—ever acted

¹ MS.: to me.

² MS.: could.

³ Originally *damning*.

with more circumspection to his Character than himself. The most light and airy dispute was with him a dispute on the Arena; he fought up on every occasion as if his whole reputation depended upon the victory of the minute, and he fought [with] all the weapons; if he was foiled in argument, he had recourse to abuse & rudeness. That he was not thus strenuous for Victory with his intimates in tête-à-tête¹ con-versations, where there were no witnesses, may be easily believed; indeed, had his conduct been to them the same as he exhibited to the public, his friends could never have entertained that love and affection for him which they all feel & profess for his memory. f. 4 verso

But what appears extraordinary is that a Man who so well saw, himself, the folly of this ambition of shining, of speaking or acting allways according to the character you imagin'd you possessd in the world, should produce in himself the greatest example of a contrary conduct.

Were I to write the life of Dr. Johnson I would labour this point, to separte his conduct that proceeded from his passions, and what proceeded from his reason, from his Natural disposition seen in his quiet hours. /

The Christian Religion was with him such a certain and Establish[ed] truth that he consider[ed] it as a kind of profan[at]ion to hold any argument about its truth. f. 12³

He was not easily imposed upon by pretensions to honesty & candour, but he appeard to have little suspicion of Hipocrisy in religion.

His Passions were like those of other men; the difference only lay in his keeping a stricter watch over himself. in petty circumstances this wayward disposition appeard, but in greater things in which he thought it worth while to summons his recollection he came on his guard [and] allways expressd himself as he ought; whatever he had felt and where [he had] more time, he was certain to be right, as when he writ.

When he had been rude, and the object of his rudeness bore it without a return, he took the first opportunity of addressing himself to him in a kind manner; if it was returned he thought himself acquitted of making any humiliat[ing apology.] /

[To them that loved him not] as rough as winter; to those who sought his love as mild as summer.³ Many instances will f. 13

¹ MS.: in a tete a tete.

² This page is numbered by Reynolds "1", folio 13 is numbered "2", and the verso of folio 12 "3".

³ Misquoted from *Henry VIII*, iv, ii. Cf. *ante*, f. 8 on p. 154.

readily occur to those who knew him intimately of the guard which he endeavoured always to keep over himself.

The prejudices he had to countrys did not extend to individuals. The chief prejudice in which he indulged himself was against Scotland, tho he had the most cordial friendship with individuals [of that country]. This he used to vindicate as a duty. In respect to French men he rather laughed at himself; but it was unsurmountable that he considered every foreigner as a fool till they had convinced him of the contrary. Against the Irish he entertained no prejudice; he thought they united themselves very well with us, but whilst the Scot[c]h when in England united and made a party by employing only Scotch servants & Scotch tradesmen, he held it right for Englishmen to oppose a party against them. /

f. 12 verso This reasoning would have more weight if the numbers were equal; a small body in a larger has such general disadvantages that I fear are scarce counterbalanced by whatever little combination they can make. A general combination against them would be too much & would be little short of annihilation.

The character of Imlac, and pa[r]ticularly his propensity to madness, was certainly taken from himself. In one of those extempore prayers which he frequently, a few days before his death, poured out¹ with great fervency, he thanked God for preserving his understanding unimpaired to the last, more especially as he allways had throug[h] life a great disposition to insanity. This his friends must have remarked and imputed to it the horror he had of being alone, and he never was if he could avoid it. /

f. 14 During his last Illness, when all hope was at an end, he appeared to be quieter and more resignd. His approaching dissolution was allways present to his mind. A few days before he dyed, Mr. Langton & Sir Joshua² only present, he said he had been a great sinner, but he hoped he had given no bad example by his writing nor to his friends; that he had some consolation in reflecting that [he] had never denied Christ, and repeated the text *whoever denies me*, &c. We were both very ready to assure

¹ Over poured out is written *he uttered*. Sir Joshua may be thinking of 5 December, when he was closeted with Johnson alone. It was probably at this time that the dying man made his friend promise never to paint on a Sunday, to forgive him a debt of thirty pounds, and to read the Bible whenever he had the opportunity. Cf. *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 203.

² Originally *myself*.

him that we were conscious that we were better & wiser from his life & conversation, and that, so far from denying Christ, he had been in this age his greatest Champion.¹

Sometimes a flash of wit escaped him² as if involuntary; he was asked how he liked the new man that was hired to watch by him. "Instead of watching," says he, "he sleeps like a dormouse; and when he helps me to bed he is as aukard as a Turnspit dog the first time he is put into the Wheel."

What I have classified as Group III consists of eight pages. In them the same thoughts are expressed with some omissions and a number of additions. The group seems to have more unity than the others, and for that reason I believe it to be a revision of the rough draft given above. It will be noticed that this version is devoted entirely to Johnson's conversation; the reasons for its superiority are enumerated, and his method of talking follows.

From thirty years' intimacy with Dr. Johnson I certainly have ^{f. 1} had the means, If I had equally the ability, of giving you a true & perfect Idea of the Character and peculiarities of this extraordinary man. The habits of my profession unluckily extends to the consideration of so much only of character as is³ on the surface, as is express'd in the lineaments of the countenance. An attempt to go deeper, and investigate the peculiar colouring of his mind as distinguishd from all other minds, nothing but your earnest desire can excuse the presumption even of attempt[ing]. Such as it is, you may make what use of it you please. Of his learning, & so much of his character as is discoverable in

¹ The scene here described undoubtedly took place on 29 November, when Langton and Reynolds were alone with Johnson. Hoole called about eight in the evening, "but did not stay, as Mr. Langton was with him on business. I met Sir Joshua Reynolds going away". (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii, 152.) Langton told Hawkins that on this evening Johnson's "hopes were increased, and that he was much cheered upon being reminded of the general tendency of his writings, and of his example". (*Id.* 127.) An unpublished note in the possession of a London dealer, written on this day by Johnson to Langton, reads: "I earnestly beg the favour of seeing you this afternoon, do not be hasty to leave me, for I have much to say."

² MS.: me.

³ *Supra*, lyes.

his writings [and is] open to the inspection of every person to judge for himse[lf], *nothing need be said*.¹ /

f. 1 verso

I shall remark such qualities only as his works alone cannot convey, and among those the most distinguishd was his posses[s]ing a mind which was, as I may say, allways ready for use. Most general subjects had undoubtedly been already discussed in the course of a studious thinking life. In this respect few men ever came better prepared into whatever company chance might through him, and the love which he had to society gave him a facility in the practice of applying his knowledge to the matter in hand which I believe was never exceeded by any man. It has been frequently observ'd that he was a singular instance of a man who had so much distinguishd himself by his writings that his conversation not only supported his character as an Author, which is very rarely seen, but what is still rarer, in the opinion of many was superior. Those who have lived with the Wits of the age know how rarely this happens.

I have had the habit of thinking that this quality, as well as others of the same kind, are possess'd in consequence [of] accidental circumstances attending his life. /

f. 2

What Dr. Johnson said a few days before his death of his disposition to insanity was no new discovery to those who were intimate with him. The character of Imlac in Rassilas, when the means of preventing madness is discussed, I allways considered as a comment on his own conduct which he himself practiced,² and

¹ Cf. *ante*, f. 11 on p. 153. The words printed in italics are crossed out.

² Cf. *ante*, f. 12 verso on p. 160. Sir Joshua means not Imlac's character but his dissertation on insanity in chapter 44. Misled by Leslie's omission of the phrase "when the means of preventing madness is discussed", Hill refers to the wrong passage. Parts of Imlac's discourse are worth quoting to prove that Sir Joshua had this passage in mind while writing not only this sentence but the rest of the sketch. "There is no man, whose imagination does not, sometimes, predominate over his reason, who can regulate his attention wholly by his will, and whose ideas will come and go at his command. No man will be found, in whose mind airy notions do not, sometimes, tyrannize, and force him to hope or fear beyond the limits of sober probability. All power of fancy over reason, is a degree of insanity; but, while this power is such as we can control and repress, it is not visible to others, nor considered as any deprivation of the mental faculties: it is not pronounced madness, but when it becomes ungovernable, and apparently influences speech or action. To indulge the power of fiction, and send imagination out upon the wing, is often the sport of those who delight too much in silent speculation. When we

as it now appears very successfully, since we know he continued to possess his understanding in its full vigour to the last. Solitude to him was horror; nor would he ever trust himself alone unemployed in writing or reading. He has often beg'd me to accompany him home with him to prevent his being alone in the coach. Any company to him was better than none; by which he connected himself with many mean persons whose presence he could command; & for this purpose he establishd a Club at a little alehouse in Essex Street,¹ composed of a str[n]ge mixture of very learned, very ingenio[u]s, and very odd people. Of the former was Dr. Heberden, Mr. Windham, Mr. Boswell, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Paradice; those of the latter sort I do not think proper to enumerate. By thus living, by necessity, so much in company, more perhaps than any other studious man whatever, he had acquired by habit, and which habit / alone can give, that facility, and we may add, docility of mind, by which he was so much distinguishd. Another circumstance likewise contributed not a little to the powers which he had of expressing himself, which was a rule, which he said he allways practiced, of allways on every occasion speaking his best,² whether the person to whom he addressed himself was or was not capable of comprehending him. "If", says he, "I am understood, my labour is not lost;³ if it is above their comprehension], there is some gratification, tho it was the admiration of ignorance"; and those, he said, were the most sincere admirers; and quoted Baxter, who made a rule never to finish a sermon without saying something which he knew was beyond the com-

f. 2 verso

are alone we are not always busy; the labour of excogitation is too violent to last long; the ardour of inquiry will, sometimes, give way to idleness or satiety. He who has nothing external that can divert him, must find pleasure in his own thoughts, and must conceive himself what he is not; for who is pleased with what he is? . . . By degrees, the reign of fancy is confirmed; she grows first imperious, and in time despotick. Then fictions begin to operate as realities, false opinions fasten upon the mind, and life passes in dreams of rapture or of anguish. This, sir, is one of the dangers of solitude."

¹ Hill (Boswell's *Life*, iv, 438) suggests that Reynolds borrowed this term from Hawkins's account, and points out the fact that one of its members, James Barry, had grossly attacked him. Although Johnson criticized Reynolds for hating no one living, Sir Joshua confessed that he did hate Barry. (*Northcote*, ii, 196).

² Cf. *ante*, f. 8 on p. 154 and Prior's *Life of Malone*, London, 1860, 92.

³ Originally, exertion was not thrown away.

prehension of his audience in order to insure their admiration.¹ Dr. Johnson, by this continual practice, made that a habit which was at first an exertion; for every person who knew him must have observed that the moment he was left out of the conversation, either from his deafness or from whatever cause, [he] remained but a few minutes without speaking or listening; his mind appeared to be preying on itself;² he fell into / a reverie accompanied with strange antick gesticulations; but this was when his mind was absent; he never did [it] when his mind was engaged by the conversat[i]on. It was therefore improperly called by Pope,³ as well as by others, convulsions, which imply involuntary contorsions; whereas, a word addressd to him, his attention was recoverd. Sometimes, indeed, it would be near a minute before he would give an answer, looking as if he laboured to bring his mind to bear on the question asked him.⁴

In arguing he did not trouble himself with much circumlocution, but directly & abruptly opposed his antagonist[']s *opinion in an abrupt manner that was offensive to those [who] were not used to his manner*;⁵ he fought with all sorts of weapons; by ludicrous comparisons & similes; if all faild, with rudeness overbearing. He thought it necessary never to be worsted in argument,⁶ tho this disposition he frequently spoke off as very weak; "as if",

¹ The passage from *Reliquiae Baxterianae* which Johnson had in mind is reprinted in Boswell's *Life*, vi, lx.

² Leslie's version reads *preparing itself*, which completely distorts Sir Joshua's meaning. As we shall see, Sir Joshua's theory was that when not engaged in conversation Johnson was inclined "to reprobate some part of his past conduct", and knowing that this was harmful, he therefore sought society.

³ Leslie, unable to read the name, left a blank. It will be remembered that when Johnson published his *London*, Pope, always on the look-out for possible rivals, requested Jonathan Richardson the younger to discover the name of the author. Richardson reported that he was an obscure person named Johnson. Later Pope learned something more about him and wrote his informant that this Johnson "has an Infirmary of the convulsive kind, that attacks him sometimes, so as to make Him a sad Spectacle". Richardson presented this note to Reynolds, who would never show it to Johnson because of the sentence quoted. (Boswell's *Life*, i, 143.)

⁴ The last two words have been crossed out.

⁵ The words in italics are crossed out.

⁶ The rest of this paragraph was added as an afterthought in a footnote at the bottom of the page. It was omitted by Leslie.

says he, "the character depended on one evening"; he thus seemed to be schooling himself, but he never learnt the thing.

He had one virtue which I hold one of the most difficult to practice. After the heat of contest was over, if he had been informed that his antagonist resented his rudeness, he was the first to seek after a reconciliation.¹ /

Truth, whether in great or little matters, he held sacred;² f. 9
"from the violation of truth", he said, "in great things your character or your interest was affected; in lesser things your pleasure is equally destroyed". I remember, on his relating some incident, I added something to his relation which I supposed might likewise have happend; "it would have been a better story," says he, "if it had been so, but it was not." Our friend Dr. Goldsmith was not so scrupolous, but he said he only indulged himself in white lyes, light as feathers, which he threw up in the air, & on whomever they fall, nobody was hurt. "I wish", says Dr. Johnson, "you would take the trouble of molting your feathers."

As an instance of refined conduct which none [but] a man of perfect integrity could [have exhibited] I once inadvertantly put him in a situation from which it would be difficult for any man to extricate himself to his own satisfaction. / I pointed at f. 9 verso
some lines in the Traveller which I told [him] I was sure he writ. He hesitated a little; during this hesitation I recollected myself that as I knew he would not lye, I put him in a cleft stick, and should have had but my due if he had given me a rough answer; but he only said, "Sir, I did write them, but that you may not imagine that I have wrote more than I really have, The utmost that I have wrote in that poem, to the best of my recollection, is not more than eighteen lines." It must be observed there was then an opinion about town that Dr. Johnson wrote the whole poem for his friend, who was then in a manner an unknown writer.

This conduct appears to me to be in the highest degree correct and refined. If the Dr.'s consience would have let him told a lye, the matter would have been soon over; if it³ had not even been of a very refined nature, he might have satisfied it by giving no answer, however conscious he would be that silence in this case

¹ Cf. *ante*, f. 12 on p. 159.

² Cf. *ante*, f. 11 verso and f. 8 on p. 154.

³ *consience* crossed out.

f. 10 would be here all the eloquence that was required effectually to discover the truth. *it would be* / telling it in words, and as I said, to a pretty gross conscience his secrecy would have molted ne[v]er a feather, and tho an additional falsehood, [it] would have been inferred that he had writ the whole; *all this by the just conduct of Dr. Johnson was prevented.*¹

Dr. J. might justly, as in reality he did, console himself a few days before his death with the hope that [he] had given neither by his writings [n]or his conduct a bad example to mankind [or] to his friends;² in no respect could the advantage of the practice of truth be more clearer demonstrated than by his own conduct and habits; the confidence which his friends reposed in his veracity and the satisfaction and pleasure which they consequently experienced *from every thing he told them*³ could not fail to incite them to imitate a quality which encreased so much the pleasure of society, the love and confidence of friends, and the encrease of their own honour.

An outline of these pages which I have arranged as Group III will show that the writer has here a beginning, a middle, and an end, and that he has preserved unity throughout. The opening paragraph announces that nothing need be said of Johnson's writings. He then comments on the outstanding characteristic, a mind that was always ready for use, which was the result of his constantly seeking out someone with whom to converse. This was caused by his fear of solitude, the dangers of which he touches upon in *Rasselas*. Hence his fondness for clubs of all sorts. And he was a good conversationalist not only because of his love of society, but because he "allways on every occasion" spoke his best. The rest of the paper discusses Johnson's manner of talking. A conversation to him meant a contest; but though he talked for victory, he was always the champion of truth, and in his last hours he had the satisfaction of knowing that

¹ The words printed in italics in this sentence were crossed out in the MS. This evidently indicates that the entire sentence was to have been deleted.

² Cf. *ante*, f. 11 verso on p. 154 and f. 14 on p. 160.

³ The words printed in italics are crossed out.

because of this he had secured the confidence of friends in whom he had instilled a love of this same virtue.

Sir Joshua was composing this at the "earnest desire" of a fellow-Johnsonian, "perhaps", suggests Leslie, "Malone (or Boswell)".¹ The use of "perhaps" is here over-cautious. The person Sir Joshua is addressing is engaged in writing a life of the master.² Of all Johnson's biographers Boswell was the most intimate with Reynolds, and Boswell's *Life* is noteworthy not only because of his ability to reproduce conversations dramatically, but because with rare patience he extracted from numerous acquaintances their impressions and recollections of Dr Johnson. Among the many contributors to whom Boswell acknowledges his indebtedness are Maxwell, Burney, Kemble, Taylor, Hector, Steevens, and Malone. But the two names that most frequently recur in this connection are Langton and Reynolds.

The question then is in what way Reynolds contributed his assistance. Naturally some of the anecdotes which he supplied were communicated orally. For example, when Johnson asked Langton to tell him his faults and then turned angrily on him for obeying him, "Sir Joshua Reynolds pleasantly observed, that it was a scene for a comedy, to see a penitent get into a violent passion and belabour his confessor".³ Sir Joshua's pleasant observation, we now know from the *Boswell Papers*, was made in Westminster Abbey, when he first heard the anecdote from Boswell. Unquestionably other such references to the painter in the *Life of Johnson* derive from similar casual conversations. Some the biographer secured in a more formal way by dictation. For instance, he "wrote some anecdotes of Dr. Johnson

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 454.

² Cf. *ante*, p. 154, f. 5; p. 159, f. 4 verso; p. 161, f. 1 (the penultimate sentence).

³ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 281. Cf. *Boswell Papers*, vi, 62.

dictated by Sir Joshua" after a dinner on 20 February, 1786.¹ But evidence of this sort in no way precludes the possibility that Sir Joshua also submitted in writing his comments on the character of his friend.

The discovery of the *Boswell Papers* has thrown light on the biographer's method of composing his *magnum opus*. He "first wrote out a rough draft on one side of quarto leaves of uniform size. He did not, however, transcribe the many letters *and other documents* which he wished to include, but associated them in some way with his draft, indicating either in the draft or on the documents themselves what portions were to be 'taken in'. Wherever necessary, documents in a series were connected by links, probably written on separate pieces of paper."² Furthermore he felt at liberty to "take in" a portion of a document at one place and reserve others for other parts of his book. Under date of 1780 he inserts a series of anecdotes contributed by "my worthy friend Mr. Langton, whose kind communications *have been separately interwoven* in many parts of this work".³

It is my contention, then, that Sir Joshua wrote the sketch for Boswell, who took the painter at his word and made what use of it he pleased. Part of it he printed *verbatim*; other parts were "separately interwoven" throughout the biography. Under date of 1739, when Boswell discusses Johnson's "cramps, or convulsive contractions, of the nature of that distemper called *St. Vitus's dance*", he adds: "Sir Joshua Reynolds, however, was of a different opinion, and favoured me with the following paper.

Those motions or tricks of Dr. Johnson are improperly called convulsions. He could sit motionless, when he was told so to do,

¹ *Boswell Papers*, xvi, 167.

² F. A. and M. S. Pottle, *A Catalogue of the Boswell Papers*, Oxford University Press, 1931, no. 303. The italics are mine.

³ *Boswell's Life*, iv, 1. The italics are mine.

as well as any other man; my opinion is, that it proceeded from a habit which he had indulged himself in, of accompanying his thoughts with certain untoward actions, and those actions always appeared to me as if they were meant to reprobate some part of his past conduct. Whenever he was not engaged in conversation, such thoughts were sure to rush into his mind; and, for this reason, any company, any employment whatever, he preferred to being alone. The great business of his life (he said) was to escape from himself; this disposition he considered as the disease of his mind, which nothing cured but company.

One instance of his absence and particularity, as it is characteristic of the man, may be worth relating. When he and I took a journey together into the West, we visited the late Mr. Banks, of Dorsetshire; the conversation turning upon pictures, which Johnson could not well see, he retired to a corner of the room, stretching out his right leg as far as he could reach before him, then bringing up his left leg, and stretching his right still further on. The old gentleman observing him, went up to him, and in a very courteous manner assured him, that though it was not a new house, the flooring was perfectly safe. The Doctor started from his reverie, like a person waked out of his sleep, but spoke not a word."¹

Note that the opening sentence contains the phrase "improperly called convulsions", which is identical with one on folio 3 above, and that towards the end of the first paragraph "any company...he preferred to being alone" is very similar to "any company to him was better than none" on folio 2 above. Folios 2 and 3, according to my arrangement, are in the revised version. I suggest that this revised copy, further polished and supplemented by material here printed in Group II, was given to

¹ Boswell's *Life*, i, 144 *et seq.* Their host was John Bankes of Kingston Hall. The conversation might well have turned upon pictures, as it was Bankes's collection which drew Reynolds out of his way to call upon him. It included a number of fine portraits by Cornelius Jansen and Vandyck, which had been saved from the wreckage of Corfe Castle during the Cromwellian decade. But what particularly struck Reynolds were the pictures by Lely. In notes which are still preserved in Kingston Lacy he says "that he never had fully appreciated Sir Peter Lely till he had seen these portraits". (Hutchins's *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 1868, iii, 237.) The visit was made on 20 August, 1762.

Boswell and was later destroyed. Presumably what Boswell printed was only a part of this final draft. Other parts were either omitted entirely, for one reason or another, or were inserted elsewhere in his book.

For instance, when Boswell animadvertes upon the lies told by his predecessors, Sir John Hawkins and Mrs Piozzi, he declares that Johnson "inculcated upon all his friends the importance of perpetual vigilance against the slightest degrees of falsehood; the effect of which, as Sir Joshua Reynolds observed to me, has been, that all who were of his *school* are distinguished for a love of truth and accuracy, which they would not have possessed in the same degree, if they had not been acquainted with Johnson".¹ This closely resembles the sentiments expressed in the sketch, and Boswell's italicizing of *school* suggests that he was using the actual word employed by Reynolds.²

Boswell was not in London when Johnson died. In describing the final illness he was therefore forced to rely upon the accounts of others. One of the anecdotes he includes is found, I believe, nowhere but in Sir Joshua's sketch. "A man whom he had never seen before was employed one night to sit up with him." This much had been told by Hawkins, but what follows is in Sir Joshua's words. "Being asked next morning how he liked his attendant, his answer was, 'Not at all, Sir: the fellow's an idiot; he is as awkward as a turn-spit when first put into the wheel, and as sleepy as a dormouse'."³

The second edition of the *Life* did not appear until after the death of Reynolds. In his advertisement to it, Boswell announced that Sir Joshua had "contributed to improve" it, and a collation of the first two editions reveals that many of these contributions were letters

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iii, 229 *et seq.*

² Cf. *ante*, p. 158, the opening sentence on folio 7.

³ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 411. Cf. *ante*, f. 14 on p. 161.

which Johnson had written to him. The only other contributions of importance were grouped together under the year 1783. Boswell here inserted "a few of Johnson's sayings, without the formality of dates, as they have no reference to any particular time or place". Among these he gives seven anecdotes admittedly supplied by Reynolds. Of these two are to be found in Sir Joshua's sketch:

Johnson used to say that he made it a constant rule to talk as well as he could both as to sentiment and expression, by which means, what had been originally effort became familiar and easy. The consequence of this, Sir Joshua observed, was, that his common conversation in all companies was such as to secure him universal attention, as something above the usual colloquial style was expected. . . .

Sir Joshua once observed to him, that he had talked above the capacity of some people with whom they had been in company together. "No matter, Sir, (said Johnson); they consider it as a compliment to be talked to, as if they were wiser than they are. So true is this, Sir, that Baxter made it a rule in every sermon that he preached, to say something that was above the capacity of his audience."

Following this series of anecdotes are others, for which Boswell gives no source. The fourth of these is not unlike what is found in Sir Joshua's sketch:

Talking of the success of the Scotch in London, he imputed it in a considerable degree to their spirit of nationality. "You know, Sir, (said he,) that no Scotchman publishes a book, or has a play brought upon the stage, but there are five hundred people ready to applaud him."¹

The proximity of this "particular" to those furnished by Reynolds makes it not improbable that Boswell was once more referring to Sir Joshua's manuscript.

To account for the fact that part of the sketch appears in the original edition of the *Life* and part in the second edition I suggest that in the manuscript given to Boswell

¹ Boswell's *Life*, iv, 186. Cf. *ante*, f. 13 on p. 160.

Sir Joshua omitted the anecdotes which have just been discussed, on the grounds that they were too trivial, but that when Boswell was making additions for a new edition he was shown what Sir Joshua had previously discarded.¹ This, of course, is the sort of statement which cannot be proved until new evidence is unearthed, but the basic argument in this connection, that the character sketch was written at Boswell's request and was used in the *Life of Johnson*, seems to me indisputable. It would have been strange indeed had Boswell with his passion for completeness failed to dig in such a Herculaneum.

¹ Prof. Pottle suggests as a reason for the omissions Sir Joshua's unwillingness to take too prominent a part in the biography. One of the few deletions from the manuscript of the *Life* preserved in the Isham Collection is an anecdote mentioning Reynolds.



CHAPTER X

AGE AND INFIRMITIES

"His illness was long, but borne with a mild and cheerful fortitude, without the least mixture of any thing irritable or querulous, agreeably to the placid and even tenour of his whole life." *Burke's obituary on Sir Joshua.*

By 1790 Sir Joshua was an old man. To be sure, he was only sixty-seven, an age which finds many men still vigorous, but in his case physical infirmities had begun to tell on his constitution. On the unlucky 13th day of July in the previous year (the day before the fall of the Bastille) he had been forced to stop painting, being "prevented by my Eye beginning to be obscured". A few months later he had completely lost the use of his left eye and lived in continual fear of losing the other as well. Time hung heavily on his hands. Occasionally he would clean or mend a picture, but the danger of total blindness prevented him from any steady work of this sort. Some visiting he did, and he still enjoyed playing his favourite game of whist, but he realized that his days as a painter were over. In October, 1789, Boswell wrote: "Sir Joshua Reynolds' loss of the sight of one eye, and weakness of the other, you may believe, must afflict him deeply. He is another instance of *dici beatus ante obitum nemo*. His friends are assiduous in consoling him."¹ His niece Mary Palmer "could not bear the thought of his spending much of his time alone".²

¹ *Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Oxford, 1924, ii, 379 *et seq.*

² Mary Palmer's letters to her cousin William Johnson, printed in part by Cotton and Leslie and Taylor, were lent in 1925 to Thomas

By flattery unspoil'd was the phrase which was to have begun a new line in Goldsmith's "epitaph" of Sir Joshua, and a similar characterization of him was made by Johnson, who once observed: "There goes a man unspoiled by prosperity." But Goldsmith himself remarked that "no man is proof against continual adulation".¹ *Retaliation* was written in 1774; Johnson died ten years later, and hence their comments have no reference to Sir Joshua's behaviour during the last two years of his life, when he was depressed by the fear of going blind and by a fatal liver complaint which the doctors failed to diagnose. Recognized by the world as one of its great men, he became more positive in his opinions and less inclined merely to take snuff or shift his trumpet. The inevitable result was friction, and in spite of Burke's positive statement that he was not irritable or querulous at this time, towards the end of his life he became involved in a series of quarrels, in which he was usually in the wrong.

Most of these quarrels were with certain Academicians who were hostile to him. "Sir William Chambers", noted Farington, "in many respects had too much considered himself and had assumed improperly, great power. . . . Sir Joshua Reynolds had felt it, & had told him in the Council, that though He (Sir Joshua) was President, Sir Wm. was Viceroy over him."² What finally led to an open quarrel was the president's desire to select as soon as possible a Professor of Perspective. None of the Academicians volunteered to serve in this capacity. One of Sir Joshua's patrons, Lord Aylesford, suggested as candidate Giuseppe Bonomi, an architect who was employed by the brothers Adam. But Bonomi was not a member of the Academy. He was forthwith

Madigan & Co., of New York. I have been unable to trace their present whereabouts.

¹ *Boswell Papers*, vii, 83.

² Farington's *Diary*, iii, 31.

proposed and eventually after considerable opposition was elected an Associate, though not until the president himself cast the deciding vote in his favour. But to be Professor of Perspective the candidate had to be an Academician, not merely an Associate. Sir Joshua therefore pressed Bonomi's promotion at the next meeting, and when the Academy rejected his candidate in what was to him an insolent fashion, he resigned from the organization for which he had done so much. As might be expected the resignation provoked much comment. The newspapers of the day discussed the matter, poems were written supporting Reynolds, pamphlets appeared attacking him, and the private letters of the period reflected the widespread interest taken in the event even by people who were unconnected with the Academy.

Among the many notices appearing in the newspapers was the following from the *London Chronicle* of 18-20 February, 1790:

We hear that Sir Joshua Reynolds is preparing to publish a letter to Sir William Chambers, on the subject of a late election at the Royal Academy. Sorry as we are for the unforeseen consequence of this event, we have still some obligation to it, because it furnishes employment for the judicious and entertaining pen of our abdicated President.

Instead of giving this letter to the press,¹ Sir Joshua decided to write a fuller vindication of himself in order to silence the "not very advantagious" accounts which were circulating. His niece Mary Palmer wrote to her cousin on the 5th of March: "my Uncle himself is preparing an account for the public as a vindication of his own Conduct, & when it is publishd I will most certainly send you a copy." On 21 April she informed her correspondent that "his reconciliation with the Royal

¹ *Letters*, 194 *et seq.*

Academy made any publication on the subject of their difference unnecessary”.

The *Apologia* still exists in manuscript in the Royal Academy. It has been included in Leslie and Taylor's biography and appears as an appendix to B. R. Haydon's autobiography, but neither of these copies is a correct one. Leslie's version omits much and is frequently inaccurate; Haydon's is considerably abridged. Those who wish to read it *in toto*, arranged I think as the writer intended it, will find it printed below as Appendix III. It is too extensive to find a place here. It is nevertheless worth reading, if only to illustrate Sir Joshua's state of mind at the time. According to Malone, he suffered “little from disappointments, or what others would have thought mortifications”.¹ If this is true, the quarrel with the Academy is an exception. No one can read his own account of it without perceiving how keenly he felt the insult to which he had been subjected.

Nor when the quarrel with the Academy had been patched and the president had been reinstated were the wounds entirely healed. At the repeated request of Burgoyne Sir Joshua had striven to have a picture by a youth named Maquignon admitted to the exhibition, but his efforts were futile. Shortly after this, he received a cold letter from Sir William Chambers, chastising him for having privately removed from the exhibition a picture of the Duke of Gloucester. Such friction continued for another twelve months, when another crisis arose over the Academy's subscription to Johnson's monument in St Paul's. This business greatly concerned Sir Joshua at the time, and he was annoyed to meet once more with the opposition of Sir William Chambers, who had the backing of the king. To present his arguments logically and forcefully he wrote them out on more than eight folio pages, which may be omitted here, since they have

¹ Farington's *Diary*, i, 136.

been printed by Leslie.¹ It must have been at this time that he reconsidered resigning his position. According to Barry, "he felt himself restrained by a low politic *combination* in the Academy, which would not suffer the institution to be made of that importance and advantage to the public, which was so easy to effect with a little elevation of mind. If he had made this second resignation, as he was so inclined, and thought himself obliged to do, the whole matter of difference had been published by himself; and as he neither wanted the penetration to investigate, nor the temper to manage it, probably it would not have been the least useful of his literary productions".²

Meanwhile his physical condition had shown little improvement. On 16 October, 1790, the *St James's Chronicle* printed the following notice: "Sir Joshua Reynolds has entirely recovered the use of one eye, but is so apprehensive of impairing his sight again, by the exercise of his profession, that he may almost be said to have taken leave of painting." Hence, as he was composing his fifteenth discourse, he was conscious of its being the last he would deliver. "I have strongly inculcated in my former Discourses, as I do in this my last" is one of his phrases; in another passage he writes: "My age, and my infirmities still more than my age, make it probable that this will be the last time I shall have the honour of addressing you from this place." And he ends the lecture with the sentence which is so often quoted: "I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of—MICHAEL ANGELO."

Since these were to be his last words, he thought it

¹ *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 610 *et seq.* The original draft was recently in the possession of Mr Gabriel Wells. A contemporary copy of this, not in Sir Joshua's hand, is in the Yale University Library.

² *Works of James Barry*, London, 1809, ii, 478 *et seq.*

proper to review what he had previously said. To do this he re-read his other discourses, taking notes as he read. Among the Reynolds manuscripts in the Royal Academy is a page which seems to be one of his earliest attempts to put his ideas for the lecture on paper.¹ The second note on this page reads: "Review the Discourses and add to th[em]." The reading notes which he took, presumably at this time, are preserved in the Royal Academy.² He first read those discourses which had been delivered after the first seven had been published as one volume. He still planned, as his letter to Jansen shows,³ to bring out a companion volume which would include all subsequent discourses. In this volume what we know as the eighth discourse would be called the first, the tenth would become the second, the eleventh the third, and so on. The ninth discourse, being an address extraordinary, delivered when the Academy moved to its new quarters in Somerset House, he apparently intended to omit. After re-reading the more recent discourses, he turned to the first seven, taking notes on these as well. He was then ready to write his final lecture.

For his subject he chose the nature of genius, one which had always fascinated him. What seem to be preliminary notes for this are written on seven pages printed below.⁴ Rough drafts of parts of the discourse have also been preserved, two of which deserve comment. The first of these was probably written originally for the third discourse. The opening sentence on the folio, which is crossed out, appears near the end of that discourse, but he had not included the illustration: "Pope knew that when he was translating Homer that it would have been

¹ Folio 50; *post*, Appendix II, p. 243 (XV, 1).

² Folio 61; *post*, Appendix I, p. 215.

³ *Cf. ante*, p. 66.

⁴ *Cf. post*, Appendix II, pp. 243 *et seq.* (XV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7).

better to have given the translation the simplicity of the original, but he considered that he was to make a popular poem," etc. I suggest that the opening sentence was crossed out after it had been incorporated in the third discourse, and that the folio was then placed in a folder labelled "Discourses not used", where it remained until 1790. In the final discourse he writes:

Michael Angelo's strength thus qualified, and made more palatable to the general taste, reminds me of an observation which I heard a learned critick make, when it was incidentally remarked, that our translation of Homer, however excellent, did not convey the character, nor had the grand air of the original. He replied, that if Pope had not clothed the naked Majesty of Homer, with the graces and elegancies of modern fashions,—though the real dignity of Homer was degraded by such a dress, his translation would not have met with such a favourable reception, and he must have been contented with fewer readers.¹

The "learned critick", Sir Joshua explains in a footnote, was Dr Johnson. If Johnson made the remark in Sir Joshua's presence, he was merely repeating what he had written. "The Anacreon of Cowley, like the Homer of Pope, has admitted the decoration of some modern graces, by which he is undoubtedly made more amiable to common readers." "Pope wrote for his own age and his own nation: he knew that it was necessary to colour the images and point the sentiments of his author; he therefore made him graceful, but lost him some of his sublimity."²

The other rough draft worthy of comment is possibly a discarded note to Dufresnoy,³ but I have placed it here because of the last lines on the page: "Parmegian[o] found himself defective in proportion tho he never wanted grandeur of outline, his first—& his latter works Johnson Journey to the Hebrides." Parmigiano's first public work and one of his last are compared in the

¹ *Works*, ii, 201 *et seq.* Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 245 (XV, 10).

² *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Hill, Oxford, 1905, i, 39; iii, 240.

³ *Works*, iii, 80. Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 246 (XV, 11).

fifteenth discourse, but there is no indication that he drew upon Johnson's *Journey* for an illustration. When writing the passage, Sir Joshua was advising the young artist as to how he should best proceed in his studies.¹ Hence the reference to the *Journey* may have been made with this passage from Boswell's *Journal* in mind: "I advised Chambers, and would advise every young man beginning to compose, to do it as fast as he can, to get a habit of having his mind to start promptly; it is so much more difficult to improve in speed than in accuracy."²

Whatever he meant by this note, Sir Joshua made no direct reference to the *Journey* or Boswell's *Journal of the Tour* in his discourse. But when discussing Parmigiano he alluded to another book edited by one of his friends. Of the Moses he wrote:

As a confirmation of its great excellence, and of the impression which it leaves on the minds of elegant spectators, I may observe, that our great Lyrick Poet, when he conceived his sublime idea of the indignant Welch bard, acknowledged, that though many years had intervened, he had warmed his imagination with the remembrance of this noble figure of Parmegiano.³

One of Gray's own notes to *The Bard* explained that the image had been taken from a well-known picture by Raphael. This note had in turn been annotated by Mason: "Moses breaking the tables of the law by Parmegiano, was a figure which Mr. Gray used to say came still nearer to his meaning than the picture of Raphael."

Some idea of the extent to which Sir Joshua relied on his library when writing a lecture has already been given. When preparing this particular discourse he made use not only of Johnson and Gray, but, as we have seen above, of Junius's *Ancient Paintings*.⁴ He refers directly to "Bishop's Ancient Statues", a collection of etchings by

¹ In this connection cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 245 (XV, 8).

² Boswell's *Life*, v, 66. ³ *Works*, ii, 195. ⁴ *Ante*, p. 125.

Jan van Bischop which was lot 1431 at the sale of some of Sir Joshua's books in March, 1798. He quotes a line from Dryden's preface to *The Tempest* ("Within that circle none durst walk but he"), which he might have found in *Spectator* no. 141. He paraphrases several precepts of his friend James Harris, and he draws generously from Condivi and Vasari for his comments on Michelangelo.

When the lecture had finally been composed, it was given to Mary Palmer, who made a fair copy of it. As was her custom, she wrote on the right-hand side of the page only, leaving the left blank for later corrections. Two of these pages have been given in facsimile by Cotton as specimens of Sir Joshua's penmanship.¹ The originals, which are in the Royal Academy, are on a sheet that has been folded to make two leaves. They have survived because on the verso of each Sir Joshua has written the rough draft of his note on Bernini's statue of Neptune.² In addition to these pages of the fair copy there are two others, which have been preserved because on the other side of each is written the fragment on the French Revolution which is discussed below.³

The fair copy must have filled sixty-five pages; when the discourse was printed it occupied thirty-one pages. This difference is accounted for not only by the fact that only half the manuscript page was used but by Sir Joshua's deletion of much that he had written. The folio included here as an illustration shows the extensiveness of the revisions. When finally printed, this page occupied less than seven lines. In addition to the six lines which are crossed out on the folio, the sentence commencing

¹ Cotton's *Gleanings*, 232 *et seq.* It is amusing that in order to prove Sir Joshua's authorship of the *Discourses*, Cotton should have selected these two pages. That they are in Mary Palmer's hand is easily seen by comparing with her uncle's her "f"s and "t"s.

² *Post*, p. 186. Cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 248.

³ *Post*, p. 188.

with "There is a daring intrepidity" was eliminated. That the revisions were made on the advice of a friend is hardly to be questioned. We have seen that Sir Joshua normally sent the fair copy to someone in whose critical powers he had confidence. Malone was in Ireland at the time and asserted that the critic who read this discourse in manuscript was not Burke. Who he was is a problem that must remain unanswered until new material is discovered.

Eventually on the 10th of December the lecture was read at the Academy. The occasion proved to be more eventful than when other discourses had been delivered. That it was the president's last bow helped to make it so, but there were other reasons as well. An unpublished letter in my possession, written on 13 December by Dr Burney to his daughter Fanny, gives an entertaining description that is more detailed than those which have been printed:

after dinner I went to Somerset house to hear Sir Joshua's farewell discourse! He had given me a Ticket in the morning, & had my name put on a very good seat in the Evening. There were fewer people of fashion & dilettanti there than usual, though a croud of young Artists & mixtures. Sir Jos. had but just entered the room, when there happened a violent and unaccountable crack w^{ch}. astonished every one present. But no inquiry was made or suspicion raised of danger till another crack happened, w^{ch}. terrified the Comp^y. so much that most of them were retreating towards the door with great precipitation, while others call out—gently! gently! or mischief will be anticipated. Well—no acct. arriving of the cause of this Alarm—we looked at each other (I mean those who had the courage or folly if you will to stay) as much as to say, won't *you* go first, & shew the example? But nobody had the courage to leave Sir Joshua in sight of 2 or 300 people, & we staid in spite of prudence & the suggestion of fear till the whole of an excellent discourse was read to a very turbulent audience (I mean of young students, & others behind) who seemed unable to hear & diverted themselves with conversation & peripatetic discourses more audible than that of poor S^r. Jos. M^r. Burke was there—. . . after the discourse was over,

we had a great deal of talk abt. the cracks & other things—He & I went up to Sr. Jos. at the same time to thank him for our entertainm^t.—& he sd. we had pd. him the highest possible Comp^t. by staying perhaps at the risk of our lives—for the arches of this building w^{ch}. had already given way 2 years ago, rendered our present danger much more serious. As we were descending (Mr. Burke, Dr. King Capt. King's brother, Boswell, Seward, Sr. Jos. myself & others) Barry the painter met us on the stairs, & said that our danger had been very real, and our escape fortunate; for he had been examining the room under the exhibition room & found that the chief beam had given way!—why it did not go further, especially after the 2^d. crack, I know not—perhaps from the company dispersing, which before was collected to a croud round the Tribune. But we are universally abused by our friends for our fool-hardy complaisance to Sir Jos. in not making the best of our way out at the 1st. warning.

Another of those present was young Samuel Rogers, who told Leslie that at the conclusion of the discourse Burke stepped forward, took Reynolds by the hand, and quoted these lines from *Paradise Lost*:

The angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear.

The retort courteous to this was made the following August, when Sir Joshua published a print from his best portrait of Burke, underneath which appeared lines describing Abdiel, alluding to his friend's political troubles.¹

The discourse does not seem to have been published until the end of February or early in March. The letter from the Bishop of London, acknowledging his copy, is dated 7 March, and on the following day Sir Joshua sent some of them to Malone, who was to distribute them in Ireland. Malone received word at the same time that nine copies were being sent to him from Boswell, who

¹ Prior's *Life of Burke*, London, 1826, ii, 163. Burke's version of the "violent and unaccountable crack" is printed in *Whitley*, ii, 134 *et seq.*

had succeeded Baretti as secretary for foreign correspondence in the Academy. One of the nine was for himself, "four for Lord Charlemont, Lord Sunderlin, and the Jephsons. . . . Four I sent under cover of the Provost for the Archbishop of Tuam, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishops of Killaloe and Dromore. Sir Joshua had sent one to the Provost himself".¹

While distributing copies of his final discourse, he was preparing an exhibition of the pictures in his collection. The project had long been in his mind. In the preceding year the *St James's Chronicle* of 27 July had printed the following notice:

Sir Joshua Reynolds, a few months past, projected a gallery to be built and connected with his present rooms, with a view of shewing his extensive collection to the publick. He has now relinquished that idea, and taken the long rooms in the Haymarket, which are to be fitted up with these pictures by next winter.

This collection, which he had spent a lifetime in acquiring, included pictures by almost all the great masters, Italian, French, Spanish, Flemish, and Dutch. Of his early days he wrote: "instead of beginning to save money, I laid it out faster than I got it, in purchasing the best examples of art that could be procured; for I even borrowed money for this purpose. The possessing portraits by Titian, Vandyck, Rembrandt, &c. I considered as the best kind of wealth."² His letters show him frequently bargaining with others for certain pictures which he desired. Many were of little artistic value, but had been purchased because in them Sir Joshua saw certain harmonies of colour or certain arrangements of figures which he admired.

In 1789 or 1790 he offered his collection to the Royal Academy at a low price, with the sole proviso that the

¹ *Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Oxford, 1924, ii, 429. Cf. *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 595 and *Letters*, 210.

² *Works*, i, li.

Academy should purchase the Lyceum in the Strand to house it. When this offer was rejected, he determined to hold an exhibition of his own, and it is to this that the notice in the *St James's Chronicle* refers. The profits were to go to his old retainer, Ralph Kirkley, who had been in his service for nearly thirty years. For this reason the exhibition was officially known as Ralph's, which provoked humorous verses in the newspapers, some of which have been reprinted by Mr Whitley.¹

In the collection of Rupert Colomb, Esq., now lent to the Royal Academy, is a crumpled and torn piece of paper which looks as if it had been rescued from the waste-basket. It has been incorrectly endorsed: "Note written by Sir J Reynolds for his 'Discourses'," but is almost certainly a discarded preface for the catalogue of "Ralph's Exhibition".

Tho I have given the pamphlet [the] Title of Catalogue resonee the [spectator] will not find what by custom that little promises—an [encomium] applying all the epithets of praises upon every Picture which language affords on the con[trary] as this is intended for the. . . [students] of the Royal [Academy] as much care will be tak[en to] mention the defects of ever[y] Picture as pointing out the beauties,—Every Picture in this Room does possess some part of the Art worthy the attention of the Artist and it may [be] as just [to say] that every Picture has some defect what Picture in the wor[l]d unites in itself all excellencies The Art of Criticism—each criticism is to point those out in [the] surest way. Segnius iritant² as for the authority of my opinion, I shall affect no modesty it may be said [that it] has been the business of my life, and I have had great opportunities, and

¹ *Whitley*, ii, 306 *et seq.* A newspaper cutting of these verses is among the Reynolds MSS. in the Royal Academy. The original MS. of Sir Joshua's advertisement for this exhibition, printed by Leslie and Taylor (ii, 604), is in the Yale University Library, the gift of Mr Gabriel Wells.

² Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis commissa fidelibus. Horace.
Sir Joshua could have found this quotation in de Piles's notes to Dufresnoy's *Art of Painting* (Dryden's translation), London, 1716, 83.

hope it will not be concluded because I cannot Paint my[se]lf in such a manner as to add authority—Cicero: quasi non ea priciam allius quae mihi ipsi desunt.

Joshua Reyno[lds]

The quotation from Cicero, incidentally, was used by Malone on the title-page of Sir Joshua's *Works*.

Those who are interested in reading the catalogue of the exhibition may do so in the reprint supplied by Graves and Cronin. It is much more informatory than such publications usually are, but as projected was to have been even more complete. A long note on Bernini's Neptune,¹ occupying two full folio pages in manuscript, is in the Royal Academy. When printed it was greatly compressed. The longest note in the catalogue concerns Correggio's Marriage of St Catherine, which Reynolds had brought at the sale of Bishop Newton's pictures. On the back of the painting a former owner had written: "Questo quadretto d'Antonio da Correggio non possa mai per alcuna causa uscir di mia casa; et doppo me, andrà al mio piu propinquo d'età maggiore, et doppo quello, similm^{te} ad altro il piu prossimo—*et sic deinceps*. Io Lelio d'Ippolito Guidiccioni mea manu.—In Roma 11 di *Luglio*." Below this Sir Joshua wrote: "I so far subscribe to the above resolution of Sig^r. Guidiccioni, that no money shall ever tempt me to part with this picture. J. Reynolds, April 17, 1790." In the Royal Academy is a page not in Sir Joshua's hand, containing notes on the Guidiccioni family and its relationship to Correggio. The writing resembles that of Dr Burney, and his connection with the manuscript is the more likely because of a reference in it to "the subject of anc^t. & modern music" and the mention of Tiraboschi and Quadrio. I have seen a facsimile of a letter Burney wrote at this time, in the postscript of which he adds: "I have lately purchased the last, and only complete Edit. of

¹ For Sir Joshua's purchase and the subsequent history of this statue see *Whitley*, ii, 181 *et seq.*

Tiraboschi's *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, in ix vol^s. 4^{to}. I had Quadrio before in vi vol^s. 4^{to}." It would seem then that Dr Burney's name should be added to the list of those who offered their services to Reynolds.

Meanwhile Sir Joshua was experiencing a certain amount of opposition at the Club. For one reason or another he desired to increase the membership, but the candidates he nominated did not meet with the approval of all, and an election had to be unanimous. On 25 May, 1790, he had proposed his friend the Earl of Carlisle, later ridiculed in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. The nomination presumably derived from Carlisle's complimentary verses to Reynolds a few months earlier on the occasion of the president's resignation from the Academy. In any event his Lordship was rejected at the meeting on the 1st of June. On the 14th of December following, Burgoyne was proposed by Boswell and seconded by Reynolds, but received three blackballs. The same evening Sir Joshua nominated Dr Blagden, secretary of the Royal Society and the only physician who suspected the true cause of Sir Joshua's ailment. When Blagden was rejected, Reynolds moved that one blackball should not exclude a candidate. A few weeks later he proposed Dr French Laurence but was again unsuccessful. He was equally unsuccessful in proposing Philip Metcalfe.¹ This information I have thought worth giving as a possible explanation of the following manuscript fragment in my possession:

You wonder men of great and distinguishd parts should love the society of plain and insipid men who can furnish only the Chit chat of the day You say [that in] their hours of relaxation from their more serious & weighty business they might as well relax in the company of men of wit, the answer is, could they without some degree of mortification hear wit without producing their

¹ *Annals of the Club*, London, 1914, 33 *et seq.*; *Windham's Diary*, ed. Baring, 198, 201. *Farington's Diary*, i, 96. *Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Oxford, 1924, ii, 409 *et seq.*, 414, 418, 421 *et seq.*

share without mortification. If they do give their share, they must exert themselves as much perhaps as is required in their more serious business. Such company therefore would not be a relaxation, which is the thing required.

Is this the substance of a speech in behalf of some candidate for membership in the Club? Sir Joshua's nominees were frequently men with whom one could relax, and the opposition he met with towards the end of his life may have led him to put on paper his apology for "plain and insipid men".

In the Club and out, the major topic of conversation at this time was the revolution in France. Two of the most violent opponents of it, Burke and Malone, were the two men in whose company Sir Joshua was most frequently found. He "was lavish in his encomiums upon" Burke's *Reflections*, which he read before the manuscript had been sent to the printer, and he is highly praised by Malone "for the rectitude of his judgment concerning those pernicious doctrines, that were made the basis of that Revolution".¹ It would seem that he once thought of writing an article on the subject. Mary Palmer's fair copy of the fifteenth discourse has received mention above. On the verso of two pages of this appears the following fragment, which must have been written early in 1791, soon after the discourse was printed. The beginning of the essay has not survived, but he has apparently been arguing that the downfall of the *ancien régime* was caused by a love of ornament:

[The Bourbons devoted their attention] to the splendor of the foliage, to the neglect of the stirring the earth about the roots

They cultivated only those arts which could add splendor to the nation, to the neglect of those which supported it—They neglected Trade & substantial Manufacture, for the sake of supporting the large looking Glass Manufacture the Tapestry of the Goblins² and the Seve Manufacture which was a losing trade and could not have continued a year without the aid of the

¹ *Works*, i, cii.

² *Cf. post*, Appendix III, p. 270 n. 4.

Crown—The trade of France was at last reduced to mere baubles, as the Opera according to my first Comparison is reduced to mere sound.

The people who require Baubles are few and consequently little revenue is acquired to the general purse, the nation can no longer go on. but does it follow that a total revolution is necessary that because we have given ourselves up too much to the ornaments of life, we will now have none at all, or according to the comparison which I first set out with of the Opera, that as sound has improperly got the better of sence we will now have no sound at all

The splendor of a Court as of Individuals who compose that Court is to a Nation what lace is to an individual—

Some notes written on folio 52 in the same collection probably pertain to this essay:

no optional Virtue, if no riches how can they shew their contempt of them. pageantry and power well knowing that sound morality and the social duties could securely rest on no other foundation

Soon after this Sir Joshua was involved in a controversy which caused him once more to resort to his pen. He had purchased a miniature of Milton by Cooper and had exhibited it with some pride. Its authenticity was questioned by Lord Hailes, "one of the best philologists in Great Britain, who has written papers in *The World*, and a variety of other works in prose and in verse, both Latin and English".¹ His arguments he published in a letter printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June, 1790. Sir Joshua's answer, published the following month in the same periodical, was a letter dated 15 June and signed "R.J." This in turn provoked a further response on the part of Lord Hailes, and the matter was then dropped. A year later, shortly after Sir Joshua's death, the editor of the magazine acknowledged that the letter signed "R.J." had been written by the painter.²

¹ Boswell's *Life*, v, 48.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxi, 399 *et seq.*, 603 *et seq.*, 885 *et seq.*; lxii, 1154.

preceding lecture, where he alters a phrase to make it sound more epic: "as the traveller despairs ever to arrive at the end of his journey, when the whole extent of the road which he is to pass is at once displayed to his view." Another simile in the same discourse has been improved. Of the compositions of *pittori improvvisatori* he had written that they "appear, as we say sometimes of flowery speeches, to have no ideas annexed to the words". This he has altered to "like those flowery speeches that we sometimes hear, which impress no new ideas on the mind".¹

In some cases whole paragraphs were omitted. The longest passage of this sort was one of four paragraphs in the eighth discourse, struck out possibly because it was discouraging to the young student, possibly because it was a mere repetition of what had already been said. In the same lecture he has deleted a long sentence slurring Raphael's Cartoons because they lacked "ornamental qualities", which, though they may be classed among "the lesser elegancies of the Art", should not be neglected by the normal painter. A paragraph in the tenth discourse in which the author points out that elaborate pieces of music are properly appreciated only after long study is absent in the revised version, perhaps because it had been echoed in the thirteenth and fifteenth discourses. He has deleted a passage in the twelfth discourse in which he remarks that it would have been "safer to have amused or rather abused" his audience with a rhapsody about genius and inspiration, rather than "point out the more humble means by which Art is

¹ *Works*, ii, 81, 85. The steps which led to this alteration have been preserved at the foot of a page of reading notes to the edition of 1778, printed below (Appendix I, p. 216). His first cast was "like mere flowery speeches which neither have nor are intended to impress on the mind any new Ideas". Beneath this is a second effort, which is almost the same as the phrase finally adopted. It begins: "like flowery speeches such as we sometimes hear."

acquired". And in the same lecture he has left out the first part of a footnote on Masaccio, probably because he considered it superfluous.

There are many rearrangements of words and phrases, and in one place he has shifted two paragraphs.¹ Many misprints, particularly of names of painters, have been corrected, and there are as well changes in the spelling of some common words. In this connection the most significant is the addition of *k* to words ending in *c*, such as *critic*, *mechanic*, etc. One of Langton's anecdotes, which was first printed in the second edition of the *Life of Johnson*, Sir Joshua doubtless read while helping Boswell "improve" his work. Johnson is there quoted as saying: "Imlac in 'Rasselas', I spelt with a *c* at the end, because it is less like English, which should always have the Saxon *k* added to the *c*." Boswell's note to this impressively strengthens it. "I hope", he writes, "the authority of the great Master of our language will stop that curtailing innovation, by which we see *critic*, *public*, &c. frequently written instead of *critick*, *publick*, &c."² Surely the fact that Sir Joshua refrained from this curtailing innovation and took the trouble to add *k* to numerous words of his which had previously appeared in print is more than a coincidence. If there was anyone in the Johnsonian circle who would endeavour to obey the rules laid down by the master, it was the first president of the Royal Academy.

When Malone, then, put on the title-page of his edition of Sir Joshua's *Works* that the text was "from his revised Copies, (with his last Corrections and Additions,)" we know that he was telling the truth. What the editor did was to suggest textual changes to the author. What the editor may have done was to repunctuate and alter the author's haphazard method of capitalization. He took much more liberty, as will be seen,

¹ *Works*, ii, 19.

² Boswell's *Life*, iv, 31.

with the unfinished writings which he used in the memoir prefixed to the *Works*, but for this there was ample excuse. Sir Joshua had not passed them for publication, and an accurate transcript of his manuscripts would have been unfair at the time. On the *Discourses*, the papers for the *Idler*, the notes to Mason's translation of Dufresnoy—on these, figuratively at least, Sir Joshua had written "imprimatur".

The revision was made in September, 1791. Once this had been accomplished the author was unable to take further interest in his writings. In October Fanny Burney, newly released from her service at court, called on him, finding him wearing a bandage over one eye and a green half-bonnet shading the other. "He seemed serious even to sadness, though extremely kind.... The expectation of total blindness depresses him inexpressibly."¹ He no longer attended meetings at the Academy and announced that he did not seek re-election as president, fearing to put his eyes "to the severe tryal of the business".² Early in November he made his will, expecting, as he remarks in the opening sentence, that he would "shortly be deprived of sight". Several weeks later Boswell reported that "he broods over the dismal apprehension of becoming quite blind. He has been kept so low as to diet that he is quite relaxed and desponding. He who used to be looked upon as perhaps the most happy man in the world is now as I tell you." And in a letter written at the end of the following January he refers to "the visible wearing away of Sir Joshua".³ On the 9th of February Windham called on his dying friend, finding Sir George Baker, the physician, there. "No hopes!" he wrote in his diary, as he had done when

¹ *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Dobson, London, 1905, v, 41.

² *Letters*, 228.

³ *Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Oxford, 1924, ii, 441, 442.

Johnson was dying; "yet", he continues, "I have urged Miss Palmer to what I ought to have urged sooner—a consultation."¹ He then went to Burke's to make the same suggestion. The consultation was held, but too late. Sir Joshua lived another two weeks, at times in pain, but for the most part "tolerably easy", and died on 23 February, 1792.

Little more need be recorded. As literary executor Malone undertook to bring out Sir Joshua's writings at once, although he was still employed on his Shakespeare. Ten days after the funeral he told Lord Charlemont that Reynolds had consulted with him in September about an edition of the *Discourses*:

we revised them then, so they are now ready for the press. It was his intention to add to them Mr. Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy, with sir Joshua's notes, which Mason has consented to; and I mean to print the whole, together with three "Idlers", written by our friend on the subject of painting, in a quarto volume. About five hundred copies will be sufficient, and a small number of the second volume of the "Discourses" must be printed for those who bought the first. After the quarto shall be sold the whole will be re-printed in three volumes octavo. As to the odd numbers of his "Discourses", which you want in quarto, it will be impossible to get them, being long out of print; and he himself found great difficulty in making up a complete set when we revised them.²

Malone's task at first sight seemed a simple one. The revised *Discourses* were "ready for the press". No alterations had been made in the letters to the *Idler*, the text for which was probably the little pamphlet now in the possession of Dr D. Nicol Smith, which Sir Joshua had given Malone three years earlier. The revised copy of the *Journey to Flanders*, now in the British Museum, needed little editing. As for the *Art of Painting*, Mason wrote to Malone in May, 1792, that he hoped to send

¹ Windham's *Diary*, ed. Baring, London, 1866, 243.

² *Hist. MSS. Commission*, xiii, 8, 1894, (Charlemont) ii, 189.

the editor an improved text, but his habitual laziness interfered. What consumed much of Malone's time, however, was the memoir which he prefixed to the writings. In preparing this he examined the numerous fragmentary manuscripts which Sir Joshua had discarded but not destroyed. Some of these he incorporated in his memoir, taking great liberties with them. As an illustration one sentence will suffice. Sir Joshua had written:

The Keeper of the Vatican told me that it has frequently happend, that after he has attended a Company and even Artists through the Rooms when he was about taking his leave has been asked why he has not shewn them what they came principally to see the works of Raffiele that he has then led them back to the rooms which they had passd before

Malone, quoted by Northcote, Leslie and Taylor, Birkbeck Hill, and others, has printed this as follows:

It has frequently happened, as I was informed by the keeper of the Vatican, that many of those whom he had conducted through the various apartments of that edifice, when about to be dismissed, have asked for the works of Raffaello, and would not believe that they had already passed through the rooms where they are preserved; so little impression had those performances made on them.¹

Doubtless Sir Joshua would have preferred "the various apartments of that edifice" to so humble a term as "the Rooms", but it is at least worth noting that he was not the author of the phrase. The text of what Sir Joshua had prepared for the press was faithfully reprinted, but the passages in the memoir said to be from his pen are what he might have written, not what he wrote. It is hardly necessary to add that no one could have performed this task as well as Malone.

Sir Joshua's *Works* were not published until the spring of 1797. Bibliographers like Lowndes and Allibone give the date 1794, and have been copied without question

¹ *Works*, i, xiv; cf. *post*, Appendix II, p. 246 *et seq.* (XV, 12).

by many. Austin Dobson, for example, followed them, and even such a standard work as that by Graves and Cronin echoes the same mistake. Benoit comes nearer the truth when he gives the date 1794-7, basing it perhaps on the information contained in a most untrustworthy bibliography, *The Universal Catalogue of Books on Art*.

The confusion may have arisen from remarks in contemporary letters. A month or two after Sir Joshua had been buried, arrangements with Cadell the publisher were made to reprint Mason's translation. In August Malone wrote to Charlemont: "what with my quarto Shakspeare, sir Joshua Reynolds' works, and Jephson's 'Roman portraits', which he has put under my care, my hands are quite full. Neither the Shakspeare nor Jephson's work are yet in the press." The inference then is that Sir Joshua's writings were in the press at this time. In a lecture read at the Academy, 18 February, 1793, Barry refers to them as "now printing", and in July Boswell makes a similar statement.¹ But 1794 arrives, and the work is not yet finished.

In November the editor writes: "I have been going on very slowly with his works, and am almost come to an end. I hope to be able to have them ready for publication by the first of the new year." Months go by. In June, 1796, Sir William Forbes hopes Sir Joshua's "elegant writings" will be prefaced with an account of his life and character, and a month later the ever optimistic Malone announces that "dear sir Joshua's works shall certainly appear before Christmas". On the 1st of December Frances Reynolds told her sister that the book was ready for the press, but another five months elapsed before it was completed. The memoir is dated 25 March; on the 2nd of April Farington, calling on the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, xiii, 8, 1894, (Charlemont) ii, 197; *Works of James Barry*, London, 1809, i, 557 n; *Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Oxford, 1924, ii, 455.

editor, was shown some of the proof sheets, and at the end of the month the book was finally published. It is first advertised in the *London Chronicle* of 28 April, 1797.¹

One of the first to receive a copy was Edmund Burke, who thanks the editor for it on 4 May, remarking that he has not only read the memoir and *Flemish Journal*, which were new to him, but some of the *Discourses* as well. Another interesting association copy of this edition is the one in my possession. It was once owned by John Ruskin and is filled with marginalia in his hand. The majority of these serve as a sort of outline of what Reynolds was writing. Some are not unlike Blake's in being adversely critical or sarcastic. "False", for example, appears a number of times. When Sir Joshua advises his students to consider "how a Michael Angelo or a Raffaele would have treated" a given subject, Ruskin's dry retort is "I cannot judge", and the opening sentence of the fourth discourse, appraising the value of art, elicits this comment: "How much systematized by me!"

Pasted in the fly-leaf of Ruskin's copy is an unpublished note written by Malone to his publishers:

Please to send two Copies of Sir J. Reynolds's Works in boards to Mr Malone's, No 58, Queen Anne St. East—They are for Lady Inchiquin, and to be charged to the account of *Copy money* of the Work.—May 18.

Perhaps one of these two copies is that which is in the Royal Academy. It was given by Lady Inchiquin and is inscribed in words which appropriately serve to bring this study to a close:

The Countess of Inchiquin requests that the President and Council of the Royal Academy will be pleased to accept of these volumes, and to give them a place in their Library as a slight memorial of their first President, The Author.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, xiii, 8, 1894, (Charlemont) ii, 253, 277; *Catalogue of the Johnsonian Collection of R. B. Adam*, Buffalo, 1921, under Forbes; unpublished letter to Elizabeth Johnson in my possession; Farington's *Diary*, i, 205.

APPENDICES

[N.B. The first three appendices contain (1) notes made by Reynolds on his reading, (2) manuscripts pertaining to the discourses, and (3) Sir Joshua's account of his quarrel with the Academy. I have attempted to adhere to his spelling and punctuation and have included much that is crossed out in the manuscripts. *What Sir Joshua deleted is here printed in italics; what he has underlined is printed in capital letters.*]

APPENDIX I

SIR JOSHUA'S READING NOTES

"By reading the thoughts of others we learn to think."

Sixth Discourse.

1. FROM MELMOTH'S TRANSLATION OF PLINY'S LETTERS¹

Extracts from Pliny

Pliny born at Comum now calld Como situated upon the Lake Larius, or Lago di Como in the Dutchy of Milan.

I know no difference between your house and my own, than that I am more carefully attended in the former than the latter. Pliny. Letter 4.

to one who was reproachd with dispising the Eloquence of his own age/ I was free to own I said, that I endeavoured to imitate Cicero, and was by no means contented with taking my example from modern Eloquence; for I looked upon it as a very absurd thing not to copy the best models of every kind. to go to the fountain Cicero. Let. 5th

to an unreasonable demand/ I will choose that which will satisfy, your judgment as well as your inclination For I do not look upon myself obliged to consider so much what you at present desire, as what a man of your worthy character will ALWAYS approve. L. 7th.

nothing could be more to my purpose than to explain at large the motives of my intended bounty, for by this means I accustomed my mind to generous sentiments; grew more enamor'd of the lovely forms by frequent attention to them.

I thought my honest intentions would be the more meritorious, as they should appear to proceed, not from a sudden start

¹ MS. a half-sheet (folded to make four pages), inserted in the Common-place Book in my possession. Cf. *ante*, p. 9.

of temper, but from the dictates of cool and deliberate reflection.
L. 8th

The pleasures of the senses are so far from wanting the oratorical arts to recommend them that we stand in need of all the powers of eloquence to moderate and restrain their influence.
Lett. 8th.

A friend of Plinys desires him to use his interest to get the hearing of his cause adjourn'd to another day on account of a Dream. Dacier thinks there is as much temerity in never giving credit to dreams, as there is superstition in allways doing so. It appears to me, says [he,] that the true medium between these two extremes is to treat them as we would a known Liar, we are sure he most usually relates falsehoods, however, nothing hinders but he may SOMETIMES speak truth.

Notes on Letter 18th

Every man naturally favors his own discoveries, and when he hears an argument made use of which had before occur'd to himself, will certainly embrace it as extremely convincing, the Orator therefore should so adapt himself to his audience as to throw out something to every one of them, that he may receive and approve as his own peculiar thought so the slightest circumstance often produces the most important consequences, in pleading push at everything, spread out a large variety of matter rather than insist on one point only like so many different seeds thrown on a soil you are unacquainted with in order to reap from thence whatever may happen to hit Letter 20 in a Book of sentences some approve and mark one some another

A dear bargain is always disagreeable, particularly as it's a reflection upon a purchasers judgment

An inhabitant of the city o[f] Cadiz was so struck with the illustrious Chara[c]ter of Livy that he travell'd to Rome on purpose to see that great Genius and as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity returned home again.

We are infinitely more affected with what we hear than what we read, Pliny. let. 3^d. B.2^d. (and what we see than what we hear ! meus.)

A 1000 sesterce is £8 sterling, one sesterce 1 penny 3 far-

things. any one possessed of 100 000 sesterces is a Decurio & every citizen whose entire fortunes amounted to 400 000 sesterces that is £3229 of our money was inrolled of course in the list [of] knights who were considered as a middle order between the senators and people yet without any other distinction than the privilege of wearing a gold ring which was a peculiar badge of their order.

The Antients thought every thing that concern'd an orator worthy of their attention, even to his very dress, Ovid mentions the habit as well as the air and mien of Germanicus as expressive of his Eloquence

Dum. . . silens andstat, status est vultusq[ue] disert
Spemq[ue] decens docta[e] vocis amictus habet.

Pliny after having bestowed great praises on the extraordinary genius of Iseus intreats his friend Nepos to come to room [*i.e.*, Rome] if for no other reason than to have the pleasure to say, I once heard him, (he had said before that a man must have a very inellegant illiterate and indolent, I had almost said a very mean turn of mind not to think whatever relates to a science so entertaining so noble and so polite worthy of his curiosity

2. FROM SHAFTESBURY'S LETTER CONCERNING ENTHUSIASM¹

Shaftbury.

We Christians who have such ample faith ourselves will not allow the Heathens to believe even their own Religion

Men are wonderfully happy in a faculty of deceiving themselves, whenever they set heartily about it, and a very small foundation of any passion will serve us not only to act it well, but even to work our selves into it beyond our own reach.

If we had an Inquisition erected to restrain *the* Poetical Licence particularly that of love, as set forth by the Poets and to forbid

¹ MS. Commonplace Book kept in 1752, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Cf. *ante*, p. 10.

to the people to hearken to any Love tale Ballad &c. we should see a new Arcadia arise out of this persecution¹

Had the Jews taken the fancy to act such Puppet-shews in his Contempt, as at this hour the Papists are acting in his Honour; I am apt to think they might possibly have done our Religion more harm, than by all their other ways of Severity

Mi sono spesso mirávegliato di vedere uomini di giudicio così notabilmente consternati alla vicinanza di qualche cosa quasi ridicola sopra certi soggetti come se avessero dubitato delloro proprio giudicio.² perche qual ridicolo puo stare contra la regione? O come può qualche d'uno della minima giustezza de[i] pensieri può soffrire un ridicolo mal allocato [*supra*, applicato] niente è *puo di* piu ridicolo di questo stesso, il Volgo, veramente può enghiottire ogni sorti di sordida burla qual se sia menchioniria a bufoneria ma bisogna essere piu bello e piu vero spirito che piaccia alliagli uomini di senso e d'educazione.³ come dunque si può fare *que* che noi siamo così codardi nel' ragionare e così timidi di stare alla prova del ridicolo? O diciamo noi i sogetti sono troppo grave—forse così è ma prima vediamo se siano realmente tale grave o nò: perche nella maniera che noi concepiamo, possano per caso essere gravissime e di peso *in* nella nostra imaginatione, ma assai ridicoli ed impertinenti nella loro natura. la Gravità e *ver* la propria essenza dell' impostura. non solamente fa che noi sbagliamo nelle [*originally* negl] altri cose, ma è capace [*originally* capace] quasi di continuo d'ingannare se stesso. perche nella commune condotta, quanto è difficile al

¹ In the MS. this extract is numbered 20, which refers to the pagination of his edition of the *Characteristicks*. Because so many of the so-called editions are page-for-page reprints, it is not possible to identify his edition.

² This sentence and those that follow should not properly be classed as reading notes, but since Reynolds is merely translating another part of the same essay and since the translation was made at the time the other notes were taken, I have thought it best to include the passage here.

³ The next two MS. lines, which are at the bottom of folio 9, are crossed out, because a sentence of text had been omitted. They are reintroduced in their proper place. The tenth folio is blank, and the translation continues at the top of the eleventh.

carattere grave di conservarsi lungo tempo fuori dei limiti della formalità noi non possiamo mai essere troppo grave, se noi possiamo solamente assicurarci [*originally* assicurarsi] che noi siamo tali nè possiamo *essere troppo grave* mai troppo onorare o riverire qual si sia cosa per grave se siamo certi che la cosa sia grave, come la concepiamo, il principal punto è di tinguer sempre la vera gravità dalla falsa: / e questo solamente può essere, portando sempre la regola con noi, ed applicandola liberamente non solo alla cose intorno a noi ma ver¹ noi stessi, Perché se per disgrazia perdiamo la misura in noi medesimi la perderemo subito in ogni altra cosa. Ora che regola o misura è nel mondo che di considerare il vero temperamento delle cose per trovare quelle che sono veramente serie, e quelle che sono ridicole, e come questo può far si se non applicando il ridicolo per vedere se questo starà? ma se noi temiamo d'applicare questa regola in qual si sia cosa qual sicurtà possiamo noi avere contra l'impostura di formalità in ogni cosa? abbiamo [*originally* abbiamo] concesso noi stessi d'esser Formalisti in un punto e la medema Formalità può regolarci, come piace, in tutte le altre cose

Non è in ogni disposizione che noi siamo resicapaci di giudicare delle cose bisogna prima *di* giudicare del nostro proprio temperamento, e conforme, di tutte le altre cose che cadono sotto il nostro giudizio, ma non bisogna mai che noi pretendiamo di giudicare delle cose o del nostro temperamento in giudicarle quando noi abbiamo [*originally* abbiamo] *dato* abbandonato i [*originally* il] nostri dritti preliminari di *jiu* giudizio, e sotto una presunzione di gravità, abbiamo concesso noi stessi essere i più ridicoli, ed ammirare [*originally* di ammirare] profondamente le più ridicole cose della natura, al meno per qualche sappiamo, Imperocchè avendo risoluto di non provar mai, non possiamo mai essere sicuri...²

Questo, Signore posso sicuramente affermare essere una cosa così vera in se stessa, e così ben nota per verità *per gli* dagli astuti

¹ Blot in MS. Probably "verso"; Shaftesbury had written: "freely applying it not only to the things about us, but to ourselves".

² Reynolds here omits the quotation from Horace given by Shaftesbury.

formalisti del secolo che possano meglio soffrire che la loro impostura sia sgridata con tutta l'amarezza e veemenza imaginabile¹ l'un' estremità in ambidue modi.

Era ne'tempi passati la sapienza di alcune nazione saggie il soffrire che il popolo fosse pazo quanto gli piaceva, e *no* di mai punir seriamente [*originally* seriamente] *il* quel che meritava [*originally* serviva] solamente d'esser burlato [*originally* solo burlarsene] e che dopo tutto *puo* era meglio curato con quel innocenta remedio, *so* vi sono certi Inclinationi nel [*originally* nell] genere umano le quali necessariamente devono sfogarsi. la mente Umana ed il corpo sono ambidue naturalmente soggetti a movimenti: e come vi sono strane fermentazioni nel sangue che in multi corpi iansario uno scarico straordinario, così ancora nella ragione vi sono heteroginei particole che bisogna [*originally* bisogna] scacciar via per la fermentazione.

3. FROM THE APOCRYPHA²

Scriptura

The Dog that follow'd Tobit is made mention of, twice c. 5. v 16. So they went forth both, and the young mans dog with them. c. 11. v. 4 So they went their way and the dog went after them. Reflex. A great beauty and simplicity and gives an air of probability to the story.

Then Raguel said unto him, thou art the Son of an honest and good man: Reflex. a most noble character express'd in the plainest terms.

When Raguel and Edna gave their daughter to be wife to Tobias, she wept, and Edna receiv'd the tears of her daughter, and said unto her, Be of good comfort, my daughter, the Lord of heaven and earth give thee joy for this thy sorrow, be of good comfort my daughter: C. 7. v 17. 18. Reflex. Her weeping upon her first being given to marriage is extremely natural, and

¹ This is the last word on the fourteenth leaf. The leaf immediately following has been removed, and what is now the fifteenth begins with the concluding words of the paragraph.

² MS. Commonplace Book in my possession.

I believe it very seldom happens that the Bride does not weep upon her first entring unto that state. they weep upon considering whether or no they are about altering their condition for the best whether they shall be happy or miserable, they consider likewise that all when they marry propose happiness to themselves and that how few obtain it, all these reflexions crowd upon them at once and in one Hurry of thought, weep, because their minds are too full to wait the slow expression of words.

Tobias's Pray'r the night that he was married is noble, at the end of it he has these words. And now O Lord I take not this my Sister for Lust, but uprightly: therefore mercifully ordain that we may become both aged together. And she said with him, Amen.

The exclamation of Tobias's Mother, when she imagin'd him dead is very natural. Now care I for nothing, my son, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes. To whom Tobit said, Hold thy peace, take no care for he is safe, But she said, Hold Thy peace, and deceive me not; my son is dead. and she went out every day in the way that they went.

Tobias when he came home went in rejoicing & told his Father the GREAT THINGS that had happend to him in Media.

They were very gratefull to their guide (whom they took for a man) in offering him half of all that they had brought.

Scriptura. Ecclesiasticus

(speaking of wisdom) The Lord created her, and saw her, and number'd her, and poured her out upon all his works. (cited by the Spectator or Tat)¹

A Patient man will bear for a time and afterward joy shall spring up unto him. He will hide his words for a time and the lips of many shall declare his wisdom. Whatsoever is brought upon thee, take cheerfully, and be patient when thou art changed to a low estate.

¹ The nearest parallel to this which I have found is in *Spectator* no. 225.

For Gold is tried in the fire and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.¹

speaking of Wisdom / At the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her laws. Then will she return the straight way unto him, and comfort him, and shew him her secrets.

Accept no person against thy soul and let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall.

In no wise speak against the truth, but be abashed of the error of thine ignorance.

Strive for the truth unto death and the Lord shall fight for thee.

4. FROM WAINEWRIGHT'S *MECHANICAL ACCOUNT OF THE NON-NATURALS*²

Medicina

By action our fibres grow continually weaker and weaker and would soon be unfit to perform their function were they not as constantly repair'd as diminish'd, and wherever the Fibres are in a state of Relaxion (as they are when we are asleep) the pores being open'd then are they in the fittest condition to receive and be replenish'd with new mat[t]er, so that as waking is the time of spending so sleeping is the time of recruiting./ hence we may observe the necessity of sleeping and why it makes a person fat./ Hence the necessity of the circulation of the blood, and of taking in food, for if either of these were wanting, there would be no means left of repairing their loss sustain'd by their daily contraction./ So that if a man would not destroy his health, his exercise should be proportion'd to his eating and sleeping./

¹ On the opposite page Reynolds wrote: "Calamity is the touchstone of a brave mind. Seneca."

² MS. Commonplace Book in my possession. Wainewright's treatise was published in 1707 and went through a number of editions which were page-for-page reprints. The passages Reynolds transcribed are to be found on pp. 149 *et seq.*, 153, and 155 *et seq.*

Eat and drink till hunger and thirst be no longer troublesome. yet as Hippocrates says the consequence[s] of a slender Diet, are more fatal than of one that is more plentiful. tis dangerous for one in health to live of too spare diet.

It is observ'd that men of a Pale complexion live longer than those who have one more florid, and with a low pulse than with one that is strong. The reason is, the Humours of the last sort are more volatile, and so more susceptible of any impression from external Agents: Their solids also being more tense and rigid, will upon all occasions make their vibrations more quick and strong, and so dispose the body to all sorts of Inflammatory distempers; besides being more subject to break by their greater Tensity, they will be liable to a more speedy decay by their great motion.

Wainwrights nonnaturals.

5. FROM UNIDENTIFIED SOURCES¹

Speaking of Plays

To check too much the natural inclinations may be compar'd to a man who too severely curbs a generous horse which inrages him till he throws him from his back./ Not to deprive a man of all pleasures but guide & moderate them by the reins of reason./ 'Tis folly to suspect the efficacy of a Medicine because 'tis agreeable to the tast./ To make virtue consist in gloomy looks and that whatever is joyous and cheerfull must be wicked;

To read and get by heart the comic and tragic poets makes a man eloquent in his speech & stile, we acquire a gracefull manner of speaking and acting in publick, we throw aside the boyish fears and discard the clownish bashfullness we accustom our selves to a distinct clear manner of speaking a courtly and gracefull gesture./

when at any time you need relaxation from severer cares let this be your amusement. (viz. acting of Plays)

¹ MS. Commonplace Book in my possession.

Observations

A beautiefull Prospect delights the Soul as much as a demonstration, and a description in Poetry will please more readers than a Chapter in Seneca. Cor. a cheerfull goodnatured man stands as fair a chance to Please in conversation as the wise and learned man.

The Picture of a Citizen full of busieness How d'ye do, you see I'm busy, where are you going I'll meet you any where, Chas! we are going into the Thames, P. well I'll meet you in the Thames.

In throughing the stocking think of the Tombs in Westminster Abby

After you have baisse you may give me another for it if you will

It puts me in mind of a good story of a Trumpeter Hor.
Happy is the man that plants Cabbages / Rabelais
dont look quite so decent seemly

co[m]me c'est a vous que j'ecris, c'est à dire a un homme instruit de toutes les belles connoissances je ne m'arresterais point sur beaucoup des choses qu'il m'eust fallu établir avant que d'entrer en matiere.

Motto

—Ergo fungar vice cotisi acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.
Munus & officium nil scribens ipse docebo:
Unde parentur opes, quid alat formetq[ue] Poeta
Quid deceat, quid non; quòd virtus, quòd ferat error.
Hor. de arte Poetica. line 304.

I only serve to whet that Wit in you
To which I willingly resign my claim.
Yet without Writing, I may teach to write
Tell what the duty of a Poet is;
Wherein his Wealth and Ornament consist
And how he may be form'd and how improv'd;
what fit, what not, what excellent or ill;

6. FROM BEN JONSON'S *VOLPONE*¹

E'n his Face begetteth Laughter

Tis aurum palpabile, if not potabile.

A Beauty ripe as Harvest!

Whose skin is whiter than a Swan all over!

Than silver snow or lillies! a soft Lip,
would tempt you to eternity of kissing!

And Flesh that melteth in the touch to Blood
Bright as your Gold & lovely as your Gold.

He's dead, Sir; Why I hope
you thought him not immortal

He that would write but such a Fellow would be
thought to feign extremely, if not maliciously.

—gaz'd upon with Goatish Eyes?

—I can feel
a whimsie i my Blood: (I know not how)
Success hath made me wanton. I could skip out
of my skin—

would she were taking now her tedious leave

Now by my Spurs the symbol of my knighthood.

7. FROM LA BRUYÈRE'S *CARACTÈRES*¹

Bruyere

Un auteur cherche vainement à se faire admirer par son ouvrage. Les sots admirent quelque fois, mais ce sont des sots. Les personnes d'esprit ont en eux les semences de toutes les verites & de tous les sentimens, rien ne leur est nouveau, ils admirent peu; ils approuvent. B.

¹ MS. Commonplace Book in my possession.

Pictura

Quand un Lecture vous éleve l'esprit, & qu'elle vou[s] inspire des sentiments noble & courageux, ne cherchez pas une autre règle pour juger de l'ouvrage il est bon, & fait de main de' ouvrier.

8. FROM POPE'S NOTES TO
*THE ILIAD OF HOMER*¹

twould be foolish to endeavour[r] to perswade us that what Homer & Virgil have done by the Approbation of all ages is not good; and to make us think that their particular tast[e] should prevail over that of all other men. Nothing is more ridiculous &c Pope on Homer.

Nothing so much cools the warmth of a piece,² or puts out the poetical fire of poetry as that perpetual care to vary incessantly even in the smallest circumstances D^o

either of these practices are good but the excess of either vicious we should neither on the one hand thro' a love of simplicity & Clearness repeat the same words phrases or discourses nor on the other for the pleasure of variety, fall into a childish affectation of expressing every thing twenty different ways, tho it be never so natural and common turn back³

The writers who succeeded them observd even from Homer himse[l]f, that the greatest beauty of style consisted in variety. this they made their principle they therefore avoided repetition of words & found out new turns & manners of of expressing the same thing D^o.

¹ MS. Commonplace Book in my possession. The references are to the first edition, London, 1720, volume v (Observations on the Shield of Achilles).

² In a footnote Reynolds writes: "or recalls the spectators wandering enthusiastical senses," adding to this: "meus."

³ The order in which the extracts appear is puzzling. "Turn back" means to the paragraph immediately preceding, which in the text immediately follows. The next two extracts are also out of their proper order, as may be seen by comparing them with the text (pp. 183 *et seq.*).

That useless nicety of avoiding repetition which the delicacy of later times had introduced was not know[n] to the first ages of antiquity. the Books of Moses abound with them far from condemning their frequent use in the most antient of all the Poets, we should look upon them as the certain character of the age in which he lived they spoke so in his time and to have spoken otherwise had been a fault, And indeed nothing in itself is so contrary to the true sublime, as that painfull & frivolous exactness, with which we avoid to make use of a proper word because it was used before it is certain the Romans were less scrupulous in that point you have often in Tully the same word 5 or 6 times in the same page

it cannot be imagin'd that an auther who so little wanted variety of expressions should be so very negligent on the contrary he affected to repeat &c. Pope citing a french critic on Homer)

Achilles's manners are not morally good they are only poetically so that is to say they are *strong* well mark'd¹

true sublimity consists more in the simple & natural than in the pompous & swelling² The mind becomes dazzled with the sight of his performances loses the common Idea of a man in the fancy'd splendor of perfection one is unwilling he should be spoke of in a language beneath imagination. (Pope on Homer)

It is with great parts as with great virtues they naturally border on some imperfection, and it is often hard to distinguish exactly where the virtue ends or the fault begins. D^o.

As simplicity of tast[e] may descend into clownishness & poverty of Invention so may a richness redundancy of Invention turn into *wildness* a kind of richness romantick and magnificent to be met with only in Romances

¹ This comment seems to be by Reynolds, possibly based on this note by Pope (p. 241): "When we see . . . the Hero deaf to Youth, and Compassion, it is what we expect. Mercy in him would offend, because it is contrary to his Character. *Homer* proposes him not as a Pattern for Imitation; but the Moral of the Poem . . . is, that we should avoid Anger."

² This sentence seems to be by Reynolds, who has placed an "x" after it. On the opposite page, marked "x", appear the other excerpts from Pope.

9. FROM BACON'S *ESSAYS*¹Study²

A student should not set himself too great nor too small Tasks; For the first will make him dejected by often failing and the second will make him a small proceeder And at the first, let him practice with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or Corks; but after a Time let him practice with disadvantage, as Dancers do with thick shooes. Bacon essay on the Nature of men

Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit Draco. Idem

10. FROM BACON'S *ADVANCEMENT
OF LEARNING*³

Cicero says that Whatsoever a man shall have occasion to speak of, he may have it in effect premeditated and handled, so that when he comes [*supra* it is to be applied] to a particular he shall have nothing to do but to put to names and times and places, and such other circumstance[s] of individuals

Demosthenes had ready framed a number of Prefaces for Orations and speeches. Bacon 196

Invention is readiness and present use of our knowledge and not addition or amplification thereof. Bacon 2^d Book of the Advancement 195 *so that our art is not properly Invention*, for to invent is to discover that we know not, and not to recover or resume that [*originally* what] which we already know and the use of this invention is no other, but out of the knowledge, whereof our mind is already possessd, to draw forth or call before us that which may be pertinent to the purpose which we take into consideration, it is therefore by the schools placed *before* after judgment as subsequent and not precedent. Bacon

¹ MS. R.A. f. 40. Cf. *ante*, p. 130.

² Under this heading Reynolds has written "used". The two extracts on this folio were used in the twelfth discourse (*Works*, ii, 76, 92).

³ MS. R.A. f. 51. Cf. *ante*, p. 130. The pagination indicates that Sir Joshua's edition was either that published at Oxford in 1633 or the earlier state of this, with the imprint, London, 1629.

11. FROM SIR JOSHUA'S *DISCOURSES*¹

- first Discourse a higher tribunal than authority—the nature of the mind old habits the general rule Variety the exception Rules founded in our Nature. Simplicity a corrector only.
- 2^d Sculpture Grace not caused by incor[rectness] Every thing of a piece.
- 3^d What are the Characteristics of Genius.—General Ideas
- 4 Method of Study—Borrowing recommended. by being warned by those Great men you will Invent in their manner. —Metastasio
- 5 The Highest tribunal recommended to address the Imagination as the residence of truth, the effect is the test.—The result of the accumaleted experience of our whole lives to be attended to—Often misled by false speculations not to attend to feelings Plato reprimand[e]d What ought to be the object—It is the lowest stile only that is addressd to the Eye we are born with a disposition an[d] no farther Analogy of Poetry. Familiarity avoid[ed]—The Roman & Florentine Two Classes. in other Arts
- 6 Gainsborough By continual contemplation Great Works, by degrees—dawn on the mi[n]d those Ideal Beauties

[1]st Vol [*i.e.*, the edition of 1778]

16. facility is reprobated easily acquired —too late to return to[o] lat[e]
- 2^d [discourse] 33 to be afraid of himself when not imitating
35. Mind thus disciplined may be indulged
- 36 To direct the mind to the different excellence[s] and to shew the path

¹ MS. R.A. f. 61. Unlike most of the pages in the Reynolds collection, folio 61 is actually a folio, and the following notes occupy all four pages of it. On the first two pages are the notes to the eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth discourses, numbered by Sir Joshua "first", "2^d", "3^d", "4", "5", and "6". For an explanation of this, see above, p. 178. On the last two pages are notes to the first seven discourses, the pagination referring to the edition of 1778.

48. a man best teaches himself
 54 Drawing learnt early. when old with as much difficulty as
 learning to read
 Do Paint your studies
 69 Not endeavour to deceive the sense but captivate th[e]
 imagination what causes the grand stile, ambition ex-
 cited Of the distinct stile the Grand & ornamental—no
 mixed passi[ons], wher[e] the Grand stile found.
 187 not endeavour to please the vulgar the intrepidity of
 Genius shoul[d] be possessd
 202 Imitation Genius acquired feels an inward pride, a
 consciousness of this relish of the right
 209 The Italians proceed in Common place That he should
 imbibe a poetical spirit
 277 Is not Art an imitation &c be the best Pai[nter]
 298 our own sensations confirmed by that of others
 300 by analogy Arts are ascertained.
 323 Prejudices—great and little have their foundation in the
 mind and [are] to be valued.
 325 Tast[e] & Judgement united without the governm[ent] of
 reason Tast[e] [*supra* invention] is more like the dreams
 of a distemperd brain than the exalted enthusiasm of a
 sound & true genius

12. FROM GERARD'S *ESSAY ON TASTE*

[Two brief passages printed in Appendix II (*post*, p. 228, VII,
 5 and note).]

APPENDIX II

THE DISCOURSES IN EMBRYO

"Those ideas . . . which lay in embryo, feeble, ill-shaped,
and confused." *Sixth Discourse.*

I, 1. *They wish to find some shorter path to excellence, and hope to Attain the rewards of eminence by other means than the "those which the" indispensable rules of Art have prescribed. They must therefore be told again and again that labour is the only price of solid fame, and that whatever their "force of" Genius may be, there is no easy Method of becoming a good Painter.*

When we read the lives of the most eminent painters, every page informs us that no part of their time was spent in dissipation; Even an increase of fame serv'd only to Augment their Industry. To be convinced with what persevereing assiduity they pursued their studies, we need only reflect on their method of proceeding in their most celebrated works. When they conceivd a Subject, they first made a Variety of Sketches of it, then a finish'd drawing of the whole, after¹

II, 1. The Painter has no [more] right to that name unless he is skilfull in the art of using Colours than a Poet has to his who cannot versify however great the Genius or imagination of each of them may be. *Those two Arts seem to be the same in regard to the general powers of Imagination they seperate only when they*

¹ MS. R.A. f. 23 verso. Cf. *Works*, i, 15. A fair copy, probably in the hand of Charles Gill (cf. *ante*, p. 35). The words in quotation marks have been added by Sir Joshua. The page, numbered 15, was extracted from a notebook by Reynolds, who used the verso for the passage printed by Cotton (*Gleanings*, 232) concerning "the advice that was given by an eminent speaker in the House of Commons", a passage which, I think, was originally written for the second discourse.

each go to work and begin to embody their Ideas in words or Colours

We must arrive at what is unknown by that which is known, whoever seeks a shorter method he only deceives himself, whilst he flatters himself he is in possession of [*originally* he is possessing] the Art he is embracing a Cloud and produces monsters and Chimeras¹

II, 2. To copy occasionally may be usefull If for Instance Rubens in the zenith *midst* of his excellence had tasked himself to Copy one of Guidos *fine* Beautifull heads it would have had its effect upon all his future Pictures. or Rembrant²

II, 3. A Picture, Poem &c. that has been admired & praised by the most celebrated men of tast for two or three centuries *back may be lookd on* if these works are still preserved amongst us I think they may be lookd on as fairly to have undergone their Tryal & [be] respected as stander[d]s of tast in that art, and whoever opposes this opinion will find him as ill treated and as deservedly by all men of tast as Perrault who *calls* thinks all the world has been in error but himself and that he has brought light to [the] world and open mens eyes,

When a man cant see the beautys of antient and admired productions he should have the modesty to distrust his own Tast and ju[d]gement rather than a whole herd world body of ingenious men that³

¹ MS. R.A. f. 33. A rough draft on a page numbered 2. The passage deleted should be compared to that printed in *Works*, i, 38. What precedes this in the MS. is similar to what is found in *Works*, i, 32. Compare the beginning of the second paragraph with *Works*, i, 28 and the reference to monsters with a similar reference in *Works*, i, 47.

² MS. Folger Library, Washington. Probably written originally for the second discourse. Cf. *Works*, i, 34 *et seq.*

³ MS. Commonplace Book in my possession. Cf. *Works*, i, 30. This passage seems to have been based on Pope. Cf. *ante*, p. 212. Pope in his notes to Homer makes frequent references to Perrault. Another passage from the Commonplace Book which I think was used in this discourse was printed by Northcote (i, 90 *et seq.*). Cf. *Works*, i, 38 *et seq.* In the Royal Academy (folios 21, 22, 23) are pages headed "The Advantage of Early Habits", printed by Cotton (*Gleanings*, 214, 232), which may have been written at the same time. Cf. *Works*, i, 41.

IV, 1. In my last Discourse I mentiond the difficulty which attends us in endeavouring to express in words the refined excellencies of Art or mark the circumstances which peculiarly distinguish the Grand Stile of Painting from every other, and that we must catch our Ideas [*supra* Principles] from the works of those Artists who have successfull[y] excited those Ideas, tho this is undoubtedly true yet it must be acknowledg'd that *such reason* retiring thus from difficulty might be urged against all Theory since [*originally* for, *altered to as*] it is very certain that no great excellence in any art was was produced by the mere use of a receipt.

I shall therefore now endeavour to mark and point out those [*originally* these] more palpable principles which constitute this grandeur of effect, and according to the method which I have all along used endeavour [to] confirm their [*originally* real existence] reality by their existence in the frame of our mind and this will be shewn from the analogy which those principle[s] [*originally* they] have to our other habits *and* customs and disposition of the mind.¹

IV, 2. The state of things is such that every thing is bought by labour, even our intellectual pleasures the most refin'd, cannot be acquired without labour. the mind must be disciplined to a tast of the Arts I consider painting as an Intellectual pleasure [? I] have placed sweat and labour before the Gates of honour²

¹ MS. R.A. f. 41, a page numbered by Reynolds 1. As printed here, it by no means seems as unpolished as is actually the case. Many words have been inserted between lines, and there is evidence that Reynolds would alter a word and then return to his first expression, as he did with "Ideas" in the fifth line and the concluding clause of the first paragraph which was cancelled but, to judge from the "stet" in the margin, was reinstated. This seems to have been the first draft of the opening of the fourth discourse, since in the third he had written: "It is not easy to define in what this great style consists; nor to describe, by words, the proper means of acquiring it" (*Works*, i, 56). It will be noted that much of the fourth discourse is devoted to distinguishing "the Grand Stile of Painting from every other", but that this draft was not used.

² MS. bound in vol. v, part I, of Jerdan's *National Portrait Gallery* (London, 1834) in the Harry Elkins Widener Collection in the Harvard College Library. The page is headed "Industry." Cf. the opening sentence in the fourth discourse (*Works*, i, 79), although there are many similar remarks in other discourses.

IV, 3. The Artist has it in his power to give even to what is ludic[r]ous a certain dignity we may give as an example we may give our favorite Character Falstaf as an instance. it is apparent tho The Poet intend him to be a bouffon for the sake of ingrati-[a]teing himself with the prince, he is still not a vulgar [person] this is discoverable enough in the writing and the actors give him a tone of importance and superiority, supposing this Character to be represented we cannot make him speak or give those tones but we can do what is equivalent we can give a grandeur of tast of design to his figure which will preserve it from sinking to vulgarity I mean only that we should give to the unwieldy corpulence of Falstaff what Julio Romano has given to the Dwarf¹

IV, 4. The wisdom of the French is [*originally* The French are] so profound that they will receive no opinions for which they do not see the reason, principles confirmed by the suffrages of near 300 years, analogical reasoning deduced from sister arts, the natural consequence of such principles exciteing peculiar Ideas all these are prejudices in their Eyes and [are] to be eradicated [*originally* exciteing such Ideas is treated as prejudices, *etc.*]

I remember many years since having a dispute with a French artist [*originally* with some French artist all who] about the imitation of Nature particularly in drapery [*originally* he insisted in particular that Historical], that it ought to preserve the discrimination of stuffs, tho he acknowledged the practice of the great artists yet as it could not be defended by what he called reason [*supra* They were considered as prejudices and as such to be eradicated] he adopted in his own practice a different method. I remember he was so far uniform, he valued himself upon being an Esprit fort. This equal²

¹ MS. Folger Library, Washington. A photographic reproduction faces p. 122 of Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's *Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London, 1902). My text omits several obvious slips of the pen, and I have taken the liberty of placing the words "The Poet" in their present place (line 4) instead of at the beginning of the sentence. The passage seems to have been discarded from the fourth discourse. Cf. *Works*, i, 86 *et seq.*

² MS. R.A. f. 1. Cf. *Works*, i, 90. The parallel is not particularly close, but I have placed it here because of the closer parallel between the verso and the same section of this discourse.

IV, 5. Grand stile requires courage The contrary dead¹ Prove form to be least. Raff[ielle] & Primaticio

I had not then considered our art as having an appropriated stile corresponding to the subject. Heroic Metre a measure a proportion, an outline, a Harmony that will not suit a work which is merely a representation of the common occurrences of life [*originally* We have our Heroic Metre *etc.*] of this stile the Florentine as they were the inventors so they are still our Masters & being diffused over the Roman & Lombard States has given a grandeur to their stile even Titian & Tintoret caught a spark and tho it be said to be adulterated when in the hands of Rubens who must be allowed to have something of Grandeur in his outline, in adding facility he has lost correctness.

This is totally opposite to the Dutch stile. The French have had two masters that have more nibbled at it Poussine and Le Seur but it appears that France is a soil where it could not be propagated, at present they are as far removed as the Dutch school tho in another direction²

IV, 6. Ludicrous & serious mixd The Dutch school are like those travellers who describe the domestic life of the lower sort of people their pleasures & their occupations

The Venetians, like the wild imaginations of Tasso or Ariosto, the same mixture of serious & ludicrous. If in Paul Veronese he introduces Boys Playing with Monkey, Dogs & Cats fighting for a Bone, Ariosto treats you with an *E* ludicrous Episode in the midd[le] of a grave narration. The affectation and want of simplicity in Guardi

Le Brun who may [be] said to b[e] [t]he head of what we call the French School, had that correctness which is exacted from their Poets, & which ill supplies the place of originality of a vigorous imagination³

IV, 7. non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur
Majestas & amor—

The pleasure which the mind receives from the contemplation

¹ These notes are almost illegible. I am unable to decipher the next two words, which look like "captive folly" or "rapture silly".

² MS. R.A. f. 1 verso. Cf. *Works*, i, 91.

³ MS. R.A. f. 10. Cf. *Works*, i, 91-96. But cf. *Works*, iii, 110 *et seq.*

of those works of art *in* which are address'd to the dignity or I may say the divinity of the mind.

Shaftsbury says men have too [*i.e.* two] minds—they have too minds to be pleas'd

The mind has two qualities, or two different modes of receiving pleasure one of which seems to approach [*originally* one of which approaches] the divinity in the same proportion as the other does sensuality, the works of art are allways address'd to one or the other of those passions, but perhaps it is worth the [? suggestion] that *it* you can never [? combine the two successfully.]¹

IV, 8. different, and they are in reality so different, that *they* each counteracts the effect of the other

Musick that is to inspire love & tenderness. the Notes flow gently *from* into one another without abruptness but the reverse when intended to inspire courage and magnanimity.

The easy flowing of those lines which make beauty & grace and the union *of* & harmony of those colours which are employ'd in pictures representing [*supra* subjects such as Corregio, Guido,] &c. would effectually destroy the effect which the Sibyls & Prophets of Michael Angelo have on the more dignified part of the mind.

A Tree *which* whose branches have a certain degree of regularity, is not so noble as an old Oak tree where *the* its unwieldy branches shute out in a wild irregular manner, and whose *lines* branches are often diametrically crossing on[e] another the very reverse *to* of which produces grace & beauty Michael Angelo²

¹ MS. R.A. f. 54 verso. The bottom of the page has been cut off. Possibly what was here written was continued on the other side of the page (see IV, 8 following). The quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Reynolds could have found among other places as the motto for *Tatler* no. 46. The reference to Shaftsbury must be to the *Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit*, although I do not know the specific passage. In all probability the MS. was once associated with the fourth discourse. Cf. *Works*, i, 95.

² MS. R.A. f. 54, a page headed "Analogy." The paragraph on music is similar to a passage in the commonplace book in my possession, printed by Northcote (i, 93). Cf. *Works*, i, 89.

IV, 9. There is no instance of a real great History Painter that could not if he *chose it* so pleased paint Portraits¹

V, 1. To pursue this comparison the various stiles or Characters in Painting we may compare *may be classed in the same manner* as those Characteristical forms of the Antients

The most perfect is that which unites to the highest degree possible all the higher excellencies and all the inferior so far as they will contribute to set those off to the greatest advantage this [? thus] we may compare Raffiell to the human form accompanied with all the advantages of grace and motion the next is the Hercules or Mi: Angelo stile which spurns at all elegance or embellishments of art. Corregio Guido and Parmegiano we may compare to the Apollo To the Fawn [*supra* Mars] which possesses Activity [*supra* a strength] without the weighty strength of the Hercules we may compare the Carraches Poussine Domenichino &c to *these mark'd Characters* we may still add other *subordinate* but *still preserving the mark'd* characters comparing the Silenus to Rubens, Pan & the Satyr to the excentric stile of Salvator Rosa the excellency of all these subordinate Character[s] will much depend on their harmon[y]²

V, 2. [From those who have ambition to tread in] this great walk o[f the Art, Michel Angelo] claims his *first* next a[tten- tion.] *far from posin p . . . perfection he . . . of general excelle[ncies] . . . not so numerous . . .* [He did not possess so many] excellencies as R[aphael; but considered?] *the art as consis[ting] . . .* those he

¹ MS. bound in vol. v, part I, of Jerdan's *National Portrait Gallery* (London, 1834) in the Harry Elkins Widener Collection in the Harvard College Library. Cf. *Works*, i, 106.

² MS. An unattached page in my possession. Originally numbered 49, it was changed to 34. A diagonal line drawn across it indicates that eventually it was discarded. In all probability this was originally written for the fifth discourse, which is devoted to a discussion of the various "*styles and characters of Painting*" (*Works*, i, 123). In this discourse Sir Joshua treats of the "*union of excellencies*" and of "*the subordination in which various excellencies ought to be kept*" (*Works*, i, 121 *et seq.*). And he mentions in the course of it all the artists named in the manuscript except Parmigiano and Domenichino.

had] were *carried to s[ublimity?* of the highest kind.] He considered the [Art as consisting of] little more than *thwha[t* may be attained by Sculpture.]¹

VI, 1. In regard to stealing single figures In Shakespears best dialogue no part of it will stand by itself, it is a vein which in one sense is inimitable, a more inferior excellencies is made up of Witticisms. So in Painting a figure that will do for any place will do for none, what is perfect in itself will not make a part as two Globes, what is a compleat whole of itself will not make a part of a Composition.

It may be observed [that] Those best parts which distinguish writers whos[e] Genius is the most acknowledged are not detached sentiment[s] but a rich vein. This may be said to be inimitable *inimitabilia nota sunt*—but still possibly to be acquired. This therefore ought to be the object of imitation to acquire this vain²

VI, 2. It is very dangerous to attempt the General Ideas before he has acquired a knowledge of individual nature,—With out this foundation in his own experience he must work by rote without settled principles and will be easily led into a false and affected stile that has no foundation *but in a capricious* mind

An Artist should know the principles of art and have some other reason for his stile than that it is recommended to him by fashion or that his master used it

when I recommend the *enrich* enriching & manuring the mind with other mens thoughts I suppose the Artist to know his Art so as to know what to choose and what to reject.³

¹ MS. in my possession. It is a fragment measuring $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and was the lower left-hand corner of a page from Sir Joshua's final draft of the fifth discourse. Along the margin is this endorsement: "The hand writing of St. Joshua Reynolds / James Northcote". Northcote was one of the two scribes who made a fair copy of this discourse for the author (*cf. ante*, p. 141), and judging from the appearance of this fragment, he seems to have rescued it from the waste-paper basket. I have filled in the lacunae from the text as first printed. *Cf. Works*, i, 126.

² MS. R.A. f. 9, presumably discarded from the sixth discourse, which treats of the connection between genius and imitation. *Cf. Works*, i, 151.

³ MS. R.A. f. 9 verso. *Cf. Works*, i, 157 *et seq.*

VI, 3. I will beg leave to exemplify this by an Invention of Corregio, and in a print which is in every bodys hands The Picture [*supra* of which the original] is in the Capo di Monte at Naples The subject is the most common and hackney'd of all subjects the *Holy Marriage* of St. Catherine a small Picture and if we use Shakespears expression of small regard to look at but of *wonderfull* sovereign virtue *when attended to with an*¹

VI, 4. I agree therefore with all those who say *it is vain* to that labor is in vain without this Genius this feeling or this good sense but I differ in supposing this is not to be acquired

Whoever has carefull[y] obser[ve]d the works of Corregio and remarkd the expression of his hands and the correspondence of the whole action to the expression of the Countenance will *afterwards* give him a habit of observing in Nature similar circumstances The marriage of St. Catherine in Capo di Monte &c. &c. The Angels in the Riposo the general effect of the Cupolo—as well as the detail of the figures all is feeling.²

VI, 5. When I could truly say *that I felt* to myself I now felt the Excellence of Raffiele & M. Angelo [*supra* I now see why these great men stand so high.] *It was the greatest* I felt the happiness th[e] satisfaction & self congratulation it could not be more than I experienced as if I had my self produced those works the expansion of my mind

a united pleasure originating from too different sources, one of which proceeded from the *real* proud expansion of the mind

¹ MS. R.A. f. 7, headed by Reynolds "Genius taught", a subject treated in the sixth discourse. For what seems to have been a later draft of this see the selection which follows. Sir Joshua himself owned a "Marriage of St. Catherine" by Correggio (Graves and Cronin, iv, 1607), and in 1770 had written: "Mr. Aufreze has brought to England a Marriage of St. Catherine by Corregio and an undoubted true one, full of faults and full of Beauties." (*Letters*, 27.) The Shakespearian reference is perhaps to *Troilus and Cressida*, III, iii, 128: "What things there are Most abject in regard, and dear in use."

² MS. R.A. f. 4. Cf. *Works*, i, 147-58. Perhaps connected with this fragment is the MS. printed by Malone (*Works*, i, p. lii) in which Reynolds writes: "If I had never seen any of the works of Correggio, I should never perhaps have remarked in nature the expression which I find in one of his pieces; or if I had remarked it, I might have thought it too difficult or perhaps impossible to be executed."

which the pride of soul as it has been Called and the other the self congratulation that I was / of being of possessing a mind capable of feeling receiving feeling those refined sensations, which are the great prerogative and distinction of man

I was let in to the Capella Systina in the morning and remained there the whole day. a great part of which was spent in walking up and down in with great self importance In the highth of this paroxysm passing through, on my return, the rooms of Raffell they appeard of an inferior order¹

VI, 6. I remember to have heard a very learned Critic observe speaking of Pope observe that he believed there was no happy *expr* allusion or expression in any of the Poets his prediccissor[s] that he had not adopted. [*supra* inserted in his work] & he suppose[d] that he had a common place book in which he inserted them for use when

If any of *Homers* the works of the co temporaries Poets with Homer had come down to us we should find this same

Massacio now ruined, but the prints shew the use that Raffiele mad[e].²

VI, 7. *It is necessary qualification* A certain degree of pride enough to take off any timorousness & for him to depend on the force of his own Genius is a necessary qualification in a Painter

Genius has been compared by somebody to a spark of fire which if left to its self would blaze out in a noble flame but is choak'd when too much fewel is *laid* heap'd on it. this is the Conduct I would recommend When a Painter has a subject to paint instead of searching *after the people* into Prints paintings or drawing to find out how other Painters have treated the same subject let him by reading or otherwise work himself to as high an Enthusiasm as *possible* he please in order to form his mental picture as lively and as noble as possible and let him sketch from that by this means his pictures will have the air of Genius stampd on them, whilst the contrary practice will infallibly produce tameness and his *Pictures* works will always have the

¹ MS. R.A. f. 28. Cf. *Works*, i, 156.

² MS. R.A. f. 29, headed by Reynolds "Invention". Cf. *Works*, i, 159, 175. The learned critic was Dr Johnson. The last sentence was later expanded in the twelfth discourse (cf. *Works*, ii, 89 *et seq.*).

air of Copys. after he has *drawn* sketchd from his idea only we will allow him to look *into* at the works of his predecessors *or the* for Dresses ornaments *and &c.* of the time.

Instead of recollecting how Raffiel *or* [the] Caracci &c have treated thei[r] subject he should *forget if Possible that he had ever seen* endeavour if possible to obliterate from his mind all Ideas of Pictures he has seen of the same subject.¹

VI, 8. To Form an Idea of perfection, if they take all their Ideas from the works of any single master it must be faulty A person should not excuse his fault[s] by supporting them on the authority of Great Masters. if so there is no fault in the Art but may be excused Dryness from Raffiel.

nor should they as Shakspear says turn their own Perfections to abuse to seem like him, abuses are sometimes when met with in Great men esteemd faults²

VII, 1.³ Prejudice Is the Wisdom of the Supreme and the chief engine of Political Wisdom it is a ray of the divine Wisd^m which when catchd by Man approaches nearer to divinity.⁴

VII, 2. *Is there* can *is* any thing be more benevolen[t] more consistent with divine wisdom than giving us that disposition to like and prefer & esteem that the most beautifull that *we have been* we are most accustom'd to⁵

VII, 3. I have endeavored to distinguish *between those* the different kinds of Prejudices, those narrow ones which we have from a partial & confined view, and which are to be eradicated, and

¹ MS. Commonplace Book in my possession. Only the comparison of genius to a spark of fire was used in the sixth discourse (*Works*, i, 160), where the "somebody" is said to be the younger Pliny. I have been unable to trace the reference.

² MS. Commonplace Book in my possession. Cf. *Works*, i, 166 *et seq.* The Shakespearian reference is to *Henry IV, part II*, II, iii.

³ When writing the seventh discourse Sir Joshua seems to have turned back to entries in the Commonplace Book in my possession, made presumably about 1759. These are printed by Northcote (i, 62 and ii, 57). The latter is almost literally copied in this discourse (*Works*, i, 227).

⁴ MS. R.A. f. 13. In all probability this is quoted from some work Sir Joshua was reading, but I have included it here because of its obvious connection with the fragments which follow.

⁵ MS. R.A. f. 36. Cf. fragment which follows.

the more enlarged which [*supra* is implanted in our nature] is the wisdom of the creator.¹

VII, 4. *appl* to convince one of this truth let us apply it to conversation, every body must have observd how *insipid* cold a general observation is receiv'd by a company who are entertain'd by a story or character of a person whom the company *know* are acquainted with Thus in regard to what concerns Painters the fashion of Dress will any one that speaks from their real tast and feeling say that *the Mass* people dont appear more pleasing more agreable in the dress of the times than in a Painters imaginary dress; If they ask their reason indeed they will answer no; but *the ma* if they ask their tast they will agree this is upon the same ground as the instance mentiond before (of acquaintance) the present over powers the general Idea As in morality the present temptation over powers the distant Ideas of rewards²

VII, 5. The true Philosopher knows that in the moment when *Genius* the mind creates and invents it will not admit of the least *restraint* check or restraint that it loves to rush forward without controle and without rule, to produce indiscriminately the monstrous and the sublime, and to carry down its rapid stream gold and mud mingled together by the impetuosity of its course. Reason therefore gives to Genius, while it creates a boundless liberty &[c.] &[c.]—it then exercises its authority & sits in judgment on the Productions of Genius see D. Alembert in Gerards Book of Tast. page 240.³

VII, 6. *impetuosity of the act of* of inventing and creating, of GIVING TO AIRY NOTHING A LOCAL HABITATION AND A NAME, he gives his imagination its free course *set* without

¹ MS. R.A. f. 6. Cf. *Works*, i, 240, referring to what had been written earlier (*id.* 201 *et seq.*).

² MS. R.A. f. 56, numbered by Reynolds "5". Cf. *Works*, i, 230 *et seq.*

³ MS. R.A. f. 32. To this is pinned a small strip of paper (f. 31), headed "d alembert" and containing but one sentence, from page 222 of Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Taste* (Edinburgh, 1764), a book which included a translation of d'Alembert's *Reflections on . . . Taste*: "The flights of genius must be unrest[r]ain[ed] since it is often in the midst of its wildest excursions that it creates the true sublime." Cf. *Works*, i, 241.

check or controle, sets down in a rough sketch the general disposition however incorrect and wild, but what objection can *there* be made for reason to come afterwards to select and / to correct what separate the Gold from the dross and determine what is to be preserved and what is to be thrown away.¹

VIII, 1. The first thing is to see the difficult[y;] a person who does not—

The difficultys of selecting from the different [kinds of] Excellence that which correspond[s] to his stile of thinking

An Artist should extend his views to every kind of excellence but every kind of excellence will not correspond to that perhaps which he has chosen for his own Rubili iacs antique head.²

VIII, 2. The variety of manner all excellent The Grandeur of Prescision the Grandeur of the Contrary of Titian & Rembrant

Painting has its own excellence exclusive of every other art or consideration

That stile which renounces all *ord* artifice—

That stile which may be said to be composed of artifice, the very essence of which consists in this Art as it may be called of Artifice I think M[ichael] Ang[elo] Raff[ielle] & Poussine if they had known (which I do not know that they did not) would have renounced it as savouring of trick & conceit; and would have left it for those to practice who needed them and without which they would be nothing whereas those whom I have mentiond wishd the attention of the spectator to be fixed *and by* on a higher object and not to be diverted and drawn off by

¹ MS. R.A. f. 55, numbered “3” by Reynolds. Cf. the preceding fragment.

² MS. R.A. f. 11. Possibly the first notes written for the eighth discourse, in the opening sentences of which he refers to the difficulty there is in “endeavouring to form an idea of perfection from the different excellencies which lie dispersed in the various schools of painting”. (*Works*, i, 245.) The allusion to Roubiliac is too cryptic for me to decipher. Perhaps Sir Joshua had in mind the visit which the sculptor had made to him after seeing the “works of antiquity” in Rome. “I was infinitely impatient”, Roubiliac told him, “till I had taken a survey of my own performances in Westminster Abbey, after having seen such a variety of excellence, and by G— my own work looked to me meagre and starved, as if made of nothing but tobacco-pipes” (*Norihcote*, i, 76).

what they might justly call tricks Raffiell[e]'s] & Pousines & Corregio[s] composition[s] are¹

VIII, 3. Just such as a sensible man would produce *there is a* the rule of Principle figures of Groups of Figures & lights are observed as much as *common* a right eye judgment dictates the necessity and no more, there is no confusion or uncertainty where to look it is the inferior Class of artist[s] that *thi* makes this art the chief who consicuous of the labour & science required to accomplish those higher qualities seek for reputation in an inferior walk.

Poussine[s] manner [*supra* Grandeur], is simpl[e] accurate *determined formal* determined with the utmost precision [in] formal measured steps, every thing is in order—hard

above all shuffling tricks by [*supra* above] producing the effect by shuffling tricks as he would call them—

Rembrant opposed who whether he painted with his finger or the wrong end of the Pencil he was justified provided the effect wanted was produced

P[oussin] addresses the spectator in a formal step and measured dignity he has such an aversion to foppish Airs an[d] a studied or modern Grace that to avoid it he often runs into the contrary extreme. Eve[ry thing] is too simple too orderly *nothing* in his conduct²

VIII, 4. What we may justly admire is not allways to be imitated

The brilliancy of Rembrants lights if it cannot be acquired but by the sacrifice of all the rest of the Picture is as well

¹ MS. R.A. f. 43, numbered "1" by Reynolds, and continued, I believe, on f. 39. The page is headed "The Difficulty of Art".

² MS. R.A. f. 39, numbered "2" by Reynolds and almost certainly a continuation of f. 43. "The rule of Principle figures . . . & lights" is discussed in detail in the eighth discourse (*Works*, i, 264 *et seq.*), as is the contrast between Poussin and Rembrandt (*id.* 250 *et seq.*). As finally printed this contrast contains no mention of Rembrandt's habit of painting with "the wrong end of the Pencil", but the characteristic is mentioned later in the twelfth discourse (*Works*, ii, 102). Perhaps the last paragraph is not correctly transcribed. The writing is so faint that it is unusually difficult to decipher.

neglected, besides such contrivances are tricks that the Grand Stile disdains.

Poussine[']s stile would have suffer'd a degradation, *had* if his Pictures had the effect of Titians, the effect would not have corresponded with the simplicity which Poussine *made* wishd to be his predominant character, it would have been too rich.

This severe stile does not correspond with young minds. Poussine himself endeavoured in the beginning of his life before he had settled his stile, to imitate Titian but he soon quitted it and fell into what was more congenial to his own mind and better correspond[e]d with those excellencies which he already possess'd.

Now tho I would [not] wish Poussine[']s Pictures to *possess* have the same effect *of* as those of Titian, because I think it would be too rich and apparently be too artificial, yet if he had imitated the tint of the Flesh of Titian *might his P* and we may [add] had the general hue of Titian without the artificial distribution of light and shadow His Pictures would approach nearer to an Idea of Perfect[io]n¹

VIII, 5. If Painters took it into their head that there was but one manner *in which* to be imitated, and let that be either Raffaele or the Carrache this manner would be soon reduced to a trick, *we* men should be tired of simplicity fatigued with excellence

The seeking after novelty The very same thing which is the cause of the advancement of art *and of our highest pleasure* of its claim to patronage and a—is at the same time the *destruction of art* cause of its declension and finally of its destruction—as it goes down lower & $\frac{v}{x}$ This is the unhappy state as it may be called of arts, *The* at a nation arrives and suddenly, from choosing the most obvious and what is best to the highest state of perfection. *you will of* They must necessarily decline from that point without any intervention of Phisical causes men grow tired they want variety *fr* the best being taken every change²

¹ MS. R.A. f. 35. Cf. preceding note.

² MS. R.A. f. 44, numbered "2" by Reynolds and probably discarded from the eighth discourse in which Sir Joshua speaks of the

VIII, 6. A Genius does not need the rules who writes imediatly from nature, suppositing it portrait Painter possess'd of a Thousand rules which are to be observ'd when he paints a Portrait that the light is to [be] kept about the middle of the face that lights & shadows of Children *bu* must be more blended & delicate than in men &c tho' *the* all those thousand rules may be all true a painter that has arrived at a faculty of imitating acuratly the nature *perfectly* he has before him *to per* will succeed *without being acquainted with one* w[h]ether he is conscious of acting by rule or not *at the same time it is certain* all the use that those rules can be is for novices to look for, what perhaps in nature might be otherwise overlook'd¹

VIII, 7. Felibien is here certainly mistaken. LeBrun never designed to make Alexander the principal figure by means of the light, but by the place he possesses in the picture. The strongest light must be in the middle of the picture, and it was impossible to put Alexander there with any sort of decorum: so Statira receives the principal light, though Alexander is apparently the principal person, since every figure in the piece directs you to him. Felibien took it for a constant maxim, that the principal figure should receive the principal light; but the greatest painters have dispensed with this rule, when they could not (as in this picture) place the principal figure in the middle. He praises the picture for that which would have infallibly spoilt it, had it been executed—that is, placing the strongest light in the corner of the picture.²

“advancement of art” (*Works*, i, 261) and “the seeking after novelty” (*id.* 253). The symbol found in the middle of the second paragraph, which resembles a “V” placed over a “r”, is, judging from Sir Joshua’s habit, an indication that the sentence is continued on the verso of the preceding page.

¹ MS. R.A. f. 16. Cf. *Works*, i, 264, 267, 281.

² A marginal note in Sir Joshua’s copy of Félibien’s *Tent of Darius Explained*, translated by William Parsons, London, 1703. It is found on p. 33 referring to the following passage: “the Figure which Represents ALEXANDER being the Principal of the Whole, it is Disposed in that very Place, where the Light Shines with the Greatest Force; And as to the Other Figures, they are Placed in that Manner, that the Light Coming to Spread it self more upon the Noblest of them, it Com-

VIII, 8. As in Nature, the suffering one Idea to preside over & swallow the rest produces madness, so it is with the Artist if he suffer one principle of art such [as] effect of light [to] make the principal object of their attention [he will] produce what may be called mad Pictures.¹

VIII, 9. [A long passage in the Commonplace Book in my possession, printed by Northcote, i, 90 *et seq.*, probably written long before but used when composing the eighth discourse. Note in particular the praise of simplicity, the condemnation of narrow rules relating to contrast, and the statement that obedience to such a rule "gives a certain hurry & confusion to the picture & . . . deprives the Picture of its most noble ornament which is the majesty of repose." Cf. *Works*, i, 250, 260, 265.]

IX, 1. Opening the new Academy / The History of Art. See Boteux—²

X, 1. Sculpture represents nature without the infirmities³

XI, 1. distance or in whatever light is *is placed. can be shewn* can be shewn It is *in* vain to attend to the variation of tints,

municates it self afterwards to the Rest, According as they are More or Less Distant." I have been unable to locate Sir Joshua's copy of this book but have transcribed the apostil from an article in the *Library of the Fine Arts*, London, 1831, i, 41 *et seq.* Reynolds certainly referred to his note when discussing LeBrun's picture in the eighth discourse (*Works*, i, 269).

¹ Item 187 in catalogue 1013 issued by James Tregaskis & Son in 1935. The page is headed "Method". Perhaps to be associated with the eighth discourse, in which the evils of various kinds of extremes are discussed, with particular attention to effects of light. Cf. *Works*, i, 267 *et seq.*

² From the photographic illustration facing page 124 of Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's *Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.*, London, 1900. It is conceivably a note for this discourse, which marked the opening of the Academy's new quarters in Somerset House. Perhaps Sir Joshua originally planned to draw his ideas for this discourse from Batteux's *Les Beaux Arts Réduits à un même Principe*.

³ MS. R.A. f. 25, endorsed in pencil "2^d Lecture". When contemplating a companion volume to the first seven discourses (the edition of 1778), Sir Joshua omitted the ninth discourse, since it was an address extraordinary, numbering what we call the eighth "1" and the tenth "2". The nearest approach to this sentence in the tenth discourse is where he speaks of sculpture as "a *partial* representation of nature" (*Works*, ii, 17).

if in that attention the general hue of flesh is lost, or to finish ever so minutely the parts, if the masses are not observed, or the whole not well put together.

Vasari *who* seems to have no great *partiality to disposition* disposition to *favour* favour the Venetian Painters, yet he every where *he* justly commends IL MODO DI FARE, LA MANIERA LA BELLA PRATICA that is the admirable manner and practice of that school, on Titian in particular he bestows the epithets of giudicioso, bello, e stupendo.¹

XI, 2. brilliancy of the Colouring, In that he was large and general, as in his design he was minute and partial, In the one he was a Genius; in the other he was not much above a copier. I do not however speak now of all his pictures. instances enough may be produced in his works where those observations on his defects could not with any propriety be applied²

XI, 3. Idleness and dissipation are such obstacles to the Advancement of Artists, their works are so often left imperfect in reality from those vices tho the artist perhaps satisfies himself or *blinds his eyes blinds* rather hoodwinks his eyes and wishes to satisfy himself with the authority of *ex* Critics who have blamed and justly both writers and Painters for too much diligence, *no m[an]* a man need not be afraid of *d[iligence]* too much finishing or diligence if it [be] directed to its proper object,

the In reality when a man that is said to hurt his work by too much diligence may with much greater propriety be said not [to] have diligence enough he who dances with a constrain'd air as if he carefully measured every step has not taken the previous necessary pains has not used the same diligence as he who has

¹ MS. R.A. f. 51 verso, numbered "15" by Reynolds and preserved because on the other side are reading notes for the following discourse (*cf. ante*, Appendix I, p. 214). It is Sir Joshua's final draft for a portion of the eleventh discourse (*cf. Works*, ii, 50 *et seq.*). The words "can be shewn", "disposition" and "favour" which are crossed out are in the hand of Samuel Johnson. *Cf. ante*, p. 135.

² MS. R.A. f. 40 verso, a page preserved because on the other side are reading notes for the following discourse (see *ante*, Appendix I, p. 214). It is Sir Joshua's final draft for a portion of the eleventh discourse (*cf. Works*, ii, 53).

the appearance of dancing careless[ly] without art &c]. The verses of Antimachus. see 326.

If by too great diligence and anxiousness is meant too great a sollicitude to do better when it is already well, a continual dislike to the first design as if it was impossible the first thought could be good allways correcting and polishing till the spirit is evaporated. of this a man must correct himself A man *may have has considerd* he who has had any work long in hand it ceases to strike his own mind *for* for that very reason, whilst a new design tho' inferior will please more *has it and*¹

XII, 1. It is often disputed which is the most effectual way of *bri* educating Children—by fear or persuasion. my opinion is that nothing but fear of corporal punishment will induce a child to learn *a science* his grammar in regard to morals things must be so managed that he be led to correct himself, *but* as B. Johnson says he thats compell'd to goodness may be good; but 'tis but for that fit: *b* potius consuefacere filium sua sponte recte facere, quam alieno metu Terence Adelph²

XII, 2. Of Perspective and anatomy *we may say* tho it is disgracefull to be ignorant it is likewise *may* be said to be a vice to know too much. Perspective and anatomy are both undoubtedly necessary in our art *but a moderate knowledge* [supra *proportion*] *of each is* it must be acknowledged at the same time that if [one has] a moderate degree of knowledge [of] each [it] is sufficient for all the purposes of our art, *whoever seeks for more seeking*

¹ MS. R.A. f. 45, numbered "5" by Reynolds. Possibly a rough draft for the eleventh discourse. With the first paragraph compare this sentence: "No work can be too much finished, provided the diligence employed be directed to its proper object" (*Works*, ii, 66). The reference at the end of the second paragraph is to Junius's *Painting of the Ancients*. Cf. *ante*, p. 124.

² MS. R.A. f. 24. Probably a rough draft of a passage in the twelfth discourse (*Works*, ii, 73 *et seq.*), where he discusses treatises on education and suggests we treat ourselves "like humoursome children". Note that shortly after this in the text (*id.* 75) he writes: "The first part of the life of a student, like that of other school-boys, must necessarily be a life of restraint. The grammar, the rudiments, however unpalatable, must at all events be mastered."

for more in those arts than [supra this] are necessary starves[?] it must be at the expence of neglecting what more essentially concerns the him in and to acquiring which life may itself be said to be | is | too short for what [is necessary], it must be at the expence of what is must by such pursuits more necessary, it this amounts to a demonstration if we acknowledge that life itself is too short for the acquisition of those far more necessary parts of of art time therefor must be husbanded to acquire what is necessary. it is a great vice in study, to take such a fancy to those accessory & assistant arts. and as to make them principal that is so far principal as if the Artist sought for and | as to seek for a parti[cular] eminence & distinction in them | by their means |, it is an | a poor | it is an ill directed ambition that never yet seases a real Artists mind. to seek for eminence and distinction by excelling in accessary arts instead of pushing on of setting your whole force upon the great & principal objects of ar[t] shews a mean ambition, a passion for those things does not make as I may say and we may add never yet made any part of the construction of[?] an | a real | Artists mind. does not enter into the composition | is not any part of the of the mind of a real Artist This is as if a Poet should become a Grammarian tho it is Absolutely necessary to be a Grammarian to a certain degree¹

XII, 3. Facility that is not the consequence and result of infinite labour and practice is odious and contemptable, it is odious as it [is] raising or rather attem[p]ting to raise admiration on false pretences [?] pretences, The Real and true facility can proceed alone from infinite practice, without which it is all smoak and the assuming the appearance of fire is allways disgustfull

As I have allways observ'd endeavourd in my Discourses to place the principl[e]s of our art pallel with other arts This Principle of facility is perhaps in no Art so perfectly exemplified as in Dancing, and here as in Painting, there is superad[d]ed to

¹ MS. British Museum, Add. MSS. 37,053, f. 1, numbered "1" by Reynolds and headed "Method of Study". Perhaps the first draft of the beginning of the twelfth discourse, in which he discusses methods of study (*Works*, ii, 72). But it is not unlike a passage in the eleventh discourse (*id.* 54 *et seq.*).

the rules of Art the continu[a]l exercises of the limbs this grace which tho few arrive at it is indeed nothing without it, and here we may say it is like Elocution tho in the one the steps are to be distinc[t]ly made out, and in the other the words to be distinctly pronounced, a smoothness is to be the result of the whole or as Shekespear says, you are still to beget a smoo[thness]¹ XII, 4. *by experience I mean a knowledge*

if a man should say I depend upon my feelings what certainty has he that his own feelings have not some unwarranted byass by which he is prejudiced in favour of a vi[th]at tast[e] which is everywhere reprobated in every country and b except in that in which/ country where he first imbibed this prejudice. of the difficulty of conquering those prejudices Rubens is a signal instance, a man who perhaps possesd as much sagacity as nice dist[inction?] as great a share of Genius in a certain way as *was ever possesd by one* ever fell to the share of one man, He traveld to Italy when young and stayed there a considerable time *but it seems* but still not long enough or perhaps it was too late to eradicate those *early prejudices* Ideas of beauty which he had early imbibed *in his more early youth* in his own country I have seen [*supra* been shewn] drawings which he then made from the Apollo of Belvidere and which *he* we see afterwards introduced into one of the Pictures of the Luxemburg Gallery, where the whole elegance of form is lost in a clumsy embonpoint

He possesd a comprehensive Genius, for he [was] extending his view to the whole *together*, whether it was in regard to Col[our] the Harmony of Colours²

¹ MS. British Museum, Add. MSS. 37,053, f. 2, numbered "2" by Reynolds. Possibly a rough draft of the twelfth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 83. Sir Joshua refers to Hamlet's advice to the players (iii, ii): "In the very...whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness."

² MS. British Museum, Add. MSS. 37,053, f. 3, a page numbered "3". Reynolds has written at the top "put back", which he has crossed out and for which he has substituted "see no 3". This perhaps refers to the third discourse (*Works*, i, 71 *et seq.*), where he had written: "It may possibly have happened to many young students, whose application was sufficient to overcome all difficulties, and whose minds were capable of embracing the most extensive views, that they have, by a wrong

XII, 5. the light & shadow *and* or the contrast of the figures which he introduced, His Pictures are allways well filld there is nother *cold* meagre or scanty *nothi[ng]* no part cold or inanimate in short he is one of the [most] perfect of all painters in *his* that class (which I rank as ornamental Painting) it is all of a piece, and we may add that it is that stile *of* which every body feels, to relish some of the higher artists such as M. Angelo Raffiell Julio & Pousine requires a mind habituated to the art but he wanted [*i.e.*, lacked these qualities.]

From that *byass sti[le?]* nature [*?*] with which his mind had been *earl[y?]* *im* impregnated, he sought after every thing that was congenial to those original impression[s] all this he found at Venise and greedily receivd and availd him[self] of their principles the simplicity of the antique & Roman school was repugnant to his mind¹

XII, 6. *If invention is an insta[n]taneous ready and of that practice allways ready for immediate use of our knowledge it is a power I never possess'd* which is calld in *our* the Painters Language invention I never possess'd But of that invention which consists in selecting the best and perhaps sometimes after many ineffectual trials being able to select the best which presented [*possibly* prescribd] itself to them to call forth on Canvass what was pertinent and proper for the subject. but I have done so little in this way that it is impertinent to speak of myself as a Painter of History If *my* what I have attemptsd *are mere essays* is perhaps sufficient to shew, that I might have been an Historical P[ainter] it is *all the* the only praise to which I am intitled to²

direction originally given, spent their lives in the meaner walks of painting, without ever knowing there was a nobler to pursue." This he illustrates by referring not to Rubens but to Dürer. I suggest that the MS. was originally written for the twelfth discourse (*Works*, ii, 83) but was "put back" into one of the folders marked "Discourses not used", either because it was too similar to the passage quoted or because he intended to incorporate it in the revised edition of the third discourse.

¹ MS. British Museum, Add. MSS. 37,053, f. 4. A continuation of the preceding folio.

² MS. R.A. f. 26, endorsed in pencil "Lecture N^o 4" (*i.e.* of the second series. Cf. *ante*, p. 178). Cf. *Works*, ii, 83.

XII, 7. Readiness of invention I never possessd too many years of my early life were gone [*supra* had been used] in Portrait Painting before I knew its value, it was then too late to acquire it, tho I consol'd myself with observations that I made on those who possessing that power in an eminent degree were not *at all* equally distinguishd for originality of Invention, *and* concluded that *those* that the two qualities of readiness and originality naturally counteracted each other. tho I am ready to acknowledge that this has too much the air of the consolation of Ignorance yet *I* it may be defended with plausible instances A hab[i]t of inventing withou[t] thinking in common place, and suffering those powers of seperation [*supra* distinction ?] to lye dormant may vitiate the tast and the mind *form* inadvertantly slide into a habit of taking every thing with selection till at last *that* it may lose its power of selection

Metast[as]io complained &c^x

XII, 8. Taki[ng] borrowing or demanding assistance from others ought not to be considered *as* so much a mark of a mans *own* [*supra* any peculiar] weakness as a *m* a true Judgment of the difficulty of the task. of the narrowness *of* and confined views of an individual mind²

XII, 9. An artist begins by an implicit confidence in and [a] humble imitation of his predecessors, he begins by stealing a part from one artist and another part from another artist, making what the Italians call a *Pasticcio*, till these excellencies which he *has* from time to time selects are wrought into his mind, he looks at all their works with this view *whe[n]* after some habit in this mode of study he begins to feel [*supra* distinguish] the difference of stiles that many excellencies are incompatable with each other. When the mind is those stored he has a right [to] follow his own feelings and his own fancy & imagination—and till he does, and is qualified so to do, he cannot call himself a Master. Every

¹ MS. R.A., an unnumbered folio on exhibition, numbered "1" by Reynolds and endorsed in pencil "Lecture N^o 4". This seems to be a second draft of folio 26 (XII, 6). Even without the endorsement its connection with the twelfth discourse would be obvious. Cf. *Works*, ii, 83 *et seq.*

² MS. R.A. f. 18, headed "To Correct Imitation" and perhaps connected with the twelfth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 91 *et seq.*, 96 *et seq.*

part of his work will *ha[ve]* appear to proceed from the same mind from the same tast—whether his disposition leads him to the stile of M. Angelo or of Rembrant of Paolo or Rubens or of Poussine, the most striking circumstance in all those Great Artists is their uniformity. Add Rubens drapery or Back ground or his trick[s of] Colouring and tricks of Art to Poussines Simplicity [*supra* Figures] or the reverse their uniformity and totality as it may be called, is entirely destroyed

There is an elegance and an order in the Drapery of Guido which perfectly corresponds to the Character of his mind; The *Grandeur of M. An* heavy folds and continued lines of M.A. perfectly correspond with the stile & Character of his figures

There is an elegance neatness & precision which would ill become that more than masculine stile of M.A.¹

XII, 10. Tho I have been led on to a longer digression respecting this great Painter than I intended, yet I cannot avoid mentioning another quality which he possessed in a very eminent degree *and which for ever accompanies* he was as much distinguishd for his Diligence and industry as he was for his superior excellence in his profession. He had no other pleasure but in the pursuit of his Art, to the entire neglect of every *worldly concern* thing else, and it is from hence as we are told that he acquired the Nick-name of Masaccio which implies that he was totally regardless of his person or dress or any worldly business; his real name was *M Tomaso*²

XII, 11. [Whether it is the knife or any other instrument, it suffices if it is something that does not] follow [exactly the will of] *the artist*; [Accident in the hands] of an artist who knows how to take the advantage of such strokes of chance will often produce bold *striking* and capricious beauties of handling and facility, such as he would not have thought off or ventured at, with his pencil

¹ MS. R.A. f. 2, a folio in the proper sense of the word. The last two paragraphs are on the second leaf. Apparently this is a rough draft of a passage in the twelfth discourse (*Works*, ii, 100 *et seq.*).

² MS. R.A. f. 34 verso, preserved because on the other side of the page Reynolds sketched and commented on a painting (see next page, XIII, 2). This is a late draft of a portion of the twelfth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 94.

under the regular restraint of his hand. however this can be practiced on occasions only where no correctness of form is required, such as clouds stumps of trees or broken ground as it is produced in the same accidental manner, it has the same free unrestrained air as the works of nature herself.¹

XIII, 1. infurire [? furere] cum ratione It appears to me absurd to suppose that a Poet Pindar for instance had not formed to himself principles the practice of which would give the appearance of the real phrenzy of enthusiasm as as a man out of the bounds of all rules, for instance it is expected that a man in a simple narration relates only the fact, A Poet is certainly not a matter of fact man, but he having observed that men possessed with great vehemence have in their heat run away with a digression till they have forgot the story with which they sat out The Poet of the Passions observes this and makes a principle of it in his art and pretends to be carried off by a simile this is the trade & this must be practiced by the t[r]ade²

XIII, 2. white Clouds on a dark blue sky, the Ground & the Shadows of the Cloud near the same Colour the clouds light near the moon the moon indeed on a light Cloud the horizon a uniform light cloud which reaches home to the light Clouds about the moon Bluish round the mound moon yellowish clouds at a little distance³

¹ MS. R.A. f. 38. The final draft of a portion of the twelfth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 103. The MS. is written on the right-hand side of the page, the other side left blank for alterations, of which there are none. It is a torn fragment preserved because it was used as a folder for Sir Joshua's collection of Johnsoniana. The page has been folded and on one half of the verso in Sir Joshua's hand is written: "No 2. Johnsoniana"; on the other half in another hand is the endorsement: "remarks on Dr Johnson, letters, verses &c &c". Johnson died three days after the twelfth discourse was delivered.

² MS. R.A. f. 58. Perhaps to be associated with the thirteenth discourse, treating of how poetry differs from nature. Cf. *Works*, ii, 122 *et seq.* But possibly written as a note to Dufresnoy (cf. *Works*, iii, 137 *et seq.*) or to Shakespeare (cf. *anie*, p. 103).

³ MS. R.A. f. 34. On the verso is a draft of a portion of the twelfth discourse (see previous page). Since reading notes used in the twelfth discourse are written on the verso of drafts of the eleventh (cf. *anie*, p. 234)

XIII, 3. it is not more a [*altered to an*] *decept[ive]* imitative art of deception than the Theatre, we are no more to be deceived in the one than the other nor is it the object of the writer or Painter

I can no more impose on myself the reality of the business on the stage than I can believe real figures surrounded with a Gilt frame.

It is true that [it] is by means of employing imitation [that] both present us with manners sentiment and Character—if both were to but neither stop at mere imitation *the one would represent* they are both therefore arts of Expression¹

XIII, 4. Nature is the object which every art professes to imitate and each art has its peculiar mode of imitation it is the first business of an artist therefore to distinguish that *peculiar* mode which his own art requires in order to direct his pursuit to that *goal* end or *this* goal which may be said to be the habitation of the Genius of that Art *whatever it be*

Thus nature is professedly imitated both by a Painter and a Player—and yet there method is very different. *was* a Painter who should take his Ideas from the Stage would produce *Character and expression* a work in the worst stile possible, the simplicity which Painting requires would not fill the scene would appear meagre and that of the Theatre in Picture would be bombast and affected²

XIV, 1. that the walks of art are not exhausted I will venture to give as an instance, he has taken up the living manners, *of* it is true they are not general manners, but it is in painting what

I have assumed that this is a page of notes connected with the thirteenth discourse. If so, the only passage which it remotely suggests is the following: "whether the clouds roll in volumes like those of Titian or Salvator Rosa,—or, like those of Claude, are gilded with the setting sun" (*Works*, ii, 129). It is possible that the notes refer to a picture by Rubens in Sir Joshua's possession, "a representation of a Moonlight" (*Works*, i, 278 *et seq.*). They are written under a rough sketch of a moon surrounded by clouds.

¹ MS. R.A. f. 5, presumably a rough draft for a portion of the thirteenth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 130.

² MS. R.A. f. 30, the back of an envelope addressed "St Joshua Reynolds / Leicester Square". The seal has been removed and there is no post-mark. Presumably a rough draft of a portion of the thirteenth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 134.

Comedy is in poetry there will be new walks of painting struck out, [There is] an instance of this in our country man Hogarth, who has made a regular Comedy he to be perfect should have had the execution of Teniers Bro[u]wer or some of the Flemish Painters added to his Genius and Invention, but *the* it must likewise be granted and it is to his praise it may be said that his Characters and expressing seize the mind so strongly that those lesser excellencies are forgot¹

XV, 1. what are the marks and Characteristics of Genius

Review the Discourses and add to th[em]

The dangers to which the study of every kind of Excellence in Art is liable, in lif[e] as well as in art

Michael Angelo who to avoid insipidity gave action to every part may beget a Golzius and Spranger who seem to imagine the further they depart from and the more they *are* unnatural the more like M. A. they may depart from nature be forced & constrained *but not* without arriving without grandeur, like Foot[e] he w[ent] in his mimicry he went out of himself but not into another Character

they lose nature without finding Art²

XV, 2. *I have warned them against the Danger that M. A. may beget a Spanger or Golzius*³

XV, 3. To Examine the Principles of art & distintangle the confusion of *Ideas* which arose from the different Ideas of the Imitation of Nature.

¹ MS. R.A. f. 53, perhaps originally intended for the fourteenth discourse, in which the work of contemporary English painters, Gainsborough, Wilson, and Hogarth, is discussed. Cf. *Works*, ii, 163. Other MSS., definitely written for this discourse, were seen and printed by Cotton (*Gleanings*, 217 *et seq.*, 223 *et seq.*).

² MS. R.A. f. 50. These are preliminary notes to the fifteenth discourse, in which he reviewed the discourses and eulogized the "exalted Founder and Father of Modern Art". In this lecture he speaks of "the comparative feebleness of [Michael Angelo's] followers and imitators", mentioning in particular some of the Flemish painters (*Works*, ii, 196, 202), but he does not name Goltzius or Spranger. Later in the same lecture, speaking of Michelangelo's inventions, he warns students that "an imitation of them is always dangerous, and will prove sometimes ridiculous" (*id.* 205).

³ MS. R.A. f. 15. Cf. f. 50, immediately preceding (XV, 1).

To entertain a respectable difference [*i.e.* deference] for the united sense of mankind as discoverable in their approbation of the higher departments of art¹

XV, 4. It has been likewise a great object with [me] to convince the students that Taste or Genius as well as abilities [*supra* the practical part of our art] are acquired and [I] have therefore endeavoured—by recommending the frequent filling the mind with those Ideas which the work of the great masters inspire, to put the mind into that train of thinking by which it is acquired.²

XV, 5. to awaken the mind and turn it to the difficulties [*supra* refinement] of the art not to be contented with mere mechanical facility in short to teach artists to be Genius however strange this language may appear to many

I have opposed this practical compendious manner. those who never endeavoured at any of those refined excellenc[i]e[s] which is Genius or indeed any thing above the common routine of practice this is the bane of art³

XV, 6. and here I took the opportunity of guarding the student against *attem* the vulgar error of attempting mixed Character, of enfeebling the expression we may add to what is there said that even in Poetry when any one quality is to be represented to its highest degree nothing is admitted that will counteract it. This [*i.e.* Thus] Homer makes both Achilles and Hector as [*originally* Homers Heroes Achilles and Hector are] totally divested of the Character of Pity to their Enemies as it would counteract *the* this [*originally* his] Charact[er] Idea of a War like Hero, terrible in War which was to be not only his predominant Character but his whole character⁴

XV, 7. it may serve to confirm what I have said on that subject before

¹ MS. R.A. f. 19, presumably preliminary notes to the fifteenth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 188, 190, 193.

² MS. R.A. f. 20. Cf. *Works*, ii, 207.

³ MS. R.A. f. 49. Cf. *Works*, ii, 214.

⁴ MS. R.A. f. 46. Presumably to be classed with the preceding fragments in which Sir Joshua is reviewing the discourses. It seems to have been based on his reading of Pope's Homer. Cf. *ante*, p. 213.

What are the circumstance[s] the clevar [?] will be inquired the winding up of my day [?]¹

XV, 8. one method of proceeding in your studies is undoubtedly better than antoher, but it [*supra* this differenc] is not of so much consequence as is generally imagined, and an artist after a certain habit in a way which me [*i.e.* may] not be the best is still the best for him a change of habit would be attended with more loss of time than the advantage of the best way would compensate

Some begin to sketch before they have very distinct Ideas of what they intend *and* but scramble about it till they have produced what they sought after Such as Rembrant, Others *before they* will not touch a pencil till they conceive distinctly the subject & disposition Thus Johnson & Burke in writing Many of Corregios Drawings are in that way as if he would put himself in the way of having the advantage of chance²

XV, 9. Whether M. A. examind in the original reasons *of the orig* of his Conduct is nothing to the purpose tis sufficient if we have shew[n] the propriety of it that it is supported [by] the principles *of Po* & practice of the greatest Poets, it shews this at least that his imagination was well formd that he seiz'd the truth by a kind of instinct if you will not allow him any better reason³

XV, 10. A man does not allways execute that which he esteems the very best but *he* does that which he can best do

I can imagine that Pope knew that when he was translating Homer that it would have been better to have given the translation *the air* the simplicity of the original, but he considered that he was to make a popular poem and that *notwithstand[ing]* the choquing offensiveness of seeing Antiquated Ideas represented in the modern refinements *and elegance of our* would be excused *from the harmony & elegance* and lost in the Harmony of the numbers.

¹ MS. R.A. f. 57, practically illegible because of poor penmanship and the dimness of the ink. Perhaps to be classed with the preliminary notes to the fifteenth discourse.

² MS. R.A. f. 42. Cf. *Works*, ii, 193.

³ MS. R.A. f. 16 verso. Cf. *Works*, ii, 196.

Every thing should be of a piece¹

XV, 11. as the moral Philosophers *say* expatiate on the difficulty of and rarity of a mans knowing himself, an Artist must particularly [strive] to attend to this knowledge of himself that is to know what he wants and to endeavour to supply that want by a particular attention to that particular defect; thus if he wants readiness,² if he wants correcting of drawing, if Colouring if Character— those defects will neither be felt or understood unless he has previously formd an Ideal Perfection to which he refers his own works Parmegian found himself defective in proportion tho he never wanted grandeur of outline, his first— & his latter works

Johnson Journey to the Hebrides³

XV, 12. Our art in its highest and most refined state has perhaps a little of what I apprehend Musick has much more depending on Convention, to understand which requires some habit study and attention to habituate the mind to have certain Idea[s] excited by certain marks or sounds *Both those arts* Musick proceeds upon *certain* a ground work natural sounds till at last it becomes so refined that to feel the effect which is intended to be excited requires a long habit and skill in that art; and we have been told that savages whose skill never went beyond the natural notes have no *sensation* tast for this refined stile to the great astonishment of Musicians but no more than expected by Dr. Burney who is both a Philosopher & Musician and in regard to our Art, how few would be struck with the Grandeur of Stile of M[ichael] A[ngelo] or R[affiello] without a previous preperation. The Keeper of the Vatican told me that it has frequently happend,

¹ MS. R.A. an unnumbered folio on exhibition. The first paragraph has been cancelled. The second paragraph (completely rewritten) was used in the fifteenth discourse. Cf. *Works*, ii, 202. I suggest that this page was written in 1770 for the third discourse (i, 74), was placed as a discard in the folder labelled "Discourses not used", and was eventually incorporated in his final address.

² Sir Joshua has annotated this as follows: "never had readiness of using my own mind if not young he had better give it up and acquire justness and originality."

³ MS. R.A. f. 8, numbered "2" by Reynolds. Parmigiano's "first & his latter works" are discussed in the fifteenth discourse (*Works*, ii, 194).

that after he has attended a Company and even Artists through the Rooms when he was about taking his leave has been asked why he has¹ not shewn them what they came principally to see the works of Raffiele *an[d]* that he has then led them back to the rooms which they had passd before.

I confess I was not myself struck with Raffielles works as I expected but what my expectations were I can not tell² but I *remained* lived long enough in the Vatican to know that my disappointment was the child of ignorance, and to be perfectly satisfied that they would not have been the better if they had *then* correspond[e]d with my ignorance to my narrow [?] view] of the Art I conclude from hence that Tast for an Art in high cultivation is *acquired that we* in so far from natural *that to possess it it requires habit sagacity* as the Convention of writing, and as Tast is known by giving its due degree of Excellence habit is required in that art *or* a man cannot say any object is great or little who has seen but that individual.

I would infer from this the necessity of *an artists* study to form his mind, to be convinced that it will not come to us unsought we must go to it and acquire it by continual sollicitation. it has been recommended even to affect a feeling if you have it not to use every artifice³ to attend to your prejudice upon your own mind to acquire this necessary ingredient in Art.⁴

XV, 13. Whoever expects the rewards of Eminence must obtain them by the same means others have attained them, labour is the price that is set on it and tho it may sometimes happen that honour and riches are bestow'd on an unworthy Artist, yet these are only exceptions to the general rules Life is like a Game

¹ The first page of this folio ends at this point.

² On the verso of the preceding page, to be inserted here, Sir Joshua wrote: "I probably expected the captivating splendour of Rubens whose works in the church at Whitehall I had much studied *the* which was the church I frequented *for that* on account of the Ceiling."

³ On the verso of the preceding page, to be inserted here, Sir Joshua wrote: "and give a fair display of your prejudice."

⁴ MS. R.A. f. 3, a folio in the proper sense of the word. Inaccurately printed in part by Cotton (*Gleanings*, 221 *et seq.*), who assigns the MS. to the thirteenth discourse. It is almost certainly the draft of a passage in the fifteenth. Cf. *Works*, ii, 207.

composed of chance *of* and skill, tho chance will sometimes give the advantage to the unskilfull yet in skilfull is more likely of success¹

XV, 14. *We may admire & justly they deserve our admiration* the correct judgement the purity of taste of Raffaele the exquisite Grace of Corregio & Parmegiano, *But the terrible Graces of Michael Angelo like a torrent that bears down every thing before it* disappear in the presence of Michael Angelo.

There is a daring intrepidity in his imagination that appears above Criticism, to set the world with all its littleness at defiance; [That he was capricious in his inventions cannot be denied, which may make some circumspection necessary in studying his Works: for tho' they appear to²

XV, 15. it said of him what he himself said of Raffaele "Che Raffaele non ebbe quest arte da natura ma per lungo studio".

He was conscious that the great excellence to which he arrived [was] by dint of labour & was unwilling to have it thought that it could be acquired by any cheaper price than he had paid for it. This was not said with any intention of depreciating the genius of Raffaele of whom he always spoke as *Condivi* says with the greatest respect & tho' rivals no such illiberality existed between them & what Vasari reports of the veneration which³

¹ MS. R.A. f. 37. Cf. *Works*, ii, 215.

² MS. R.A. f. 60, a fair copy of a part of the fifteenth discourse, written by Mary Palmer on the right-hand side of a page which she has numbered "44". Presumably the words in italics were crossed out by Sir Joshua, who has added the last seven words in the first paragraph and has inserted the bracket in the second paragraph to indicate the omission of the first part of that paragraph. Cf. *Works*, ii, 205. The fair copy was continued on what is now folio 14, reproduced in facsimile in Cotton's *Gleanings* (the second of the two facsimiles facing page 232). Cotton inaccurately states that the handwriting is Sir Joshua's (the statement is true of the corrections) and omits the numbering of the page (45).

³ MS. R.A. f. 59 verso, a fair copy in Mary Palmer's hand, numbered "63". It is continued on what is the second leaf of folio 14, reproduced in facsimile in Cotton's *Gleanings* (the first of the two facsimiles facing page 232). The facsimile omits the numbering of the page (64). Cf. *Works*, ii, 216.

APPENDIX III

SIR JOSHUA'S *APOLOGIA*

"I find that the causes of my resigning the Presidency of the Royal Academy, have been grossly, & as I conceive, from very unjustifiable motives, misrepresented."

Sir Joshua to Sir William Chambers, February, 1790.

[The following account is taken from the original MS. in the possession of the Royal Academy. It was written between the middle of February and the middle of March, 1790 (*ante*, pp. 175 *et seq.*) and is Sir Joshua's version of his quarrel with the Academy. It was copied in part by B. R. Haydon, who included his transcript as an appendix to his autobiography, and was first printed by Leslie and Taylor (ii, 559-77). As far as I know, no one since has examined the MS. with any care. Succeeding biographers have merely referred to Leslie's version, which is here shown to be extremely inaccurate.

The *Apologia*, written in haste, was never completed, and is therefore often confusing and difficult to decipher. Wherever it was possible to go astray, Leslie succeeded. He endeavoured to arrange the papers in a somewhat chronological order, instead of following Sir Joshua's plan; he omitted important bits of information; he changed the spelling of many more than the "two or three words" which he admitted correcting (ii, 558). Consequently I have thought it worth while to present a more accurate text. In doing so I have arranged the pages as nearly as possible in the order Sir Joshua seems to have intended to publish them. The first twelve folios are obviously to be placed at the beginning. They are stitched together, and on the verso of folio 12 is the endorsement: "Justification in the matter of Bonomi and the resignation of the Presid^t's Chair."¹ These twelve folios are apparently rewritten from a rougher draft. They are free from the changes in spelling and sentence-structure which mark the other pages. Following them is the series numbered by Sir Joshua "5" to "15". In order not to confuse these folios with those in the first series, I have referred to them as "5a", "6a", etc. That they should follow as in my text is proved by the fact that f. 12 and f. 5a dovetail. Folio 15a concludes with Sir Joshua's resignation, which brings the first part of the

¹ Sir Walter Armstrong (*Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1900, 147) writes as though he had seen the MS., but he repeats Leslie's mistake of reading "Satisfaction" for "Justification". Cf. *Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 558.

Apologia to an end. Next in order is a series numbered "1" to "10", which I have referred to as "1 b", "2 b", etc. Strictly speaking, the "Second Part" does not begin until f. 3 b, but the fact that Reynolds numbered this page "3" indicates that he considered the actual division to be two leaves before this. After f. 10 b I have added the remaining five folios, most of which seem to have been intended for the conclusion.

The MS. is enclosed in two folders. On the outside of the one Sir Joshua has written: "no. 4. Beginning the Academical Disputes"; on the other are the words: "last part. no. 5". I assume that folders 1 and 3 were filled with MSS. which make up the greater part of Appendix II. Folder 2 was used for *Johnsoniana* (*ante*, p. 241 n. 1). At any rate the endorsements on folders 4 and 5 show that Sir Joshua intended to divide his *Apologia* into two parts only, and the page-numbers on the folios indicate that he adopted separate pagination for the two parts. I believe that what is now contained in folios 1 to 12 was originally compressed into the missing first four pages of the series which now consists of folios 5 a to 15 a. In the first part Reynolds explains the origin of the quarrel and the cause of his resignation. In the second he accounts for the opposition to Bonomi. Because of this scheme a certain amount of repetition is unavoidable.

Such at least is the conclusion I have reached after studying the MS. Doubtless I shall be criticized for including most of what Sir Joshua crossed out. My defence is that in many cases what has been deleted gives us additional information (*e.g.* his remarks concerning Tyler, f. 14 a, West, f. 1 b, Chambers, f. 6 b, the "rebels" as a whole, f. 1 b, all of which was probably omitted because it was too personal). In some cases also, by giving what has been crossed out, I show why I consider that a certain folio should follow another (*e.g.* ff. 5 b-6 b, 7 b-8 b). Furthermore, the inclusion of all that was written shows more than anything else how strongly Sir Joshua felt the insult. Feeling that he had been inexcusably slighted, he was unable to write the words as quickly as they came to him, and the result necessarily was an incoherent expression of his sentiments and a page filled with corrections.

In reprinting the MS. I have adopted the scheme employed in the first two appendices. What Sir Joshua has crossed out is printed in italics. What he has underlined is indicated by capital letters. His spelling and punctuation have been retained. In certain cases, to make the task of reading easier, words or letters have been inserted in the text, enclosed in square brackets. I have thought it unnecessary to supply biographical notes for the members of the Academy mentioned. The best book of reference for this purpose is Sandby's *History of the Royal Academy of Arts*, London, 1862. Hodgson and Eaton, *The Royal Academy and its Members*, London, 1905, is also useful, though briefer.]

- f. 1 The consequence which every man is to himself, and the imaginary interest which he vainly supposes the public take in

what concerns him, or his private affairs, may reasonably be supposed to be the origin of the various apologies for the life and conduct of very insignificant individuals. However I wish to avoid the ridicule that attends such appeals to the public, yet it has been suggested to me by my friends, that as the public appear to have already interested themselves from the daily account in the newspapers and the statement of the dissensions in the Academy in those papers and other publications not very advantageous to the President, It is proper that a fair account ought to be laid before the public / that tho the ridicule that might f. 2 otherwise attend it, was obviated by having presided in a public office, of however comparatively inferior rank that office was, it is still such as the world have thought proper to interest themselves about its success or miscarriage That if you can shew that the opposition you met with in the Academy was, in the prosecution of your duty, and the insult which you lately receiv'd was unprovoked and unmerited, it is a duty you owe yourself and your character so to do, and at once clear yourself from the clandestine as well as public insinuations that are now circulating in the world. /

To do this, it is necessary to go back a few years to get at the f. 3 original cause of this dissention amongst the Academicians.

years ago the Academy lost its Professor of Perspective, Mr. Wale.¹ To fill this office no Candidate voluntarily appearing, the President personally applied to those Academicians whom he thought qualified, and particularly to Mr. P. Sandby and Mr. Richards begging them to accept the place and save the Academy from the disgracefull appearance of there not being any member in it capable of filling this office or that they were too indolent to undertake its duty. my sollicitation[s] were in vain. A Council was then called to deliberate what was to be done. Sir W^m Chambers proposed that as from the orders in our Institution, the Professor must be an Academician, he re / commended that we f. 4 should endeavour to find out some person, out of the Academy, properly qualified and elect him an Academician expressly for

¹ Minutes of the Council, 7 February, 1786: "The Secretary reported that Mr. Wale died this Day."

that purpose. and I remember his adding that it was the custom so to do in the French Academy. This method of proceeding was adopted, but no person so qualified occurring to the Council, nothing more was done for the present.¹

At a succeeding Council I proposed Mr. Bonomi. Mr. Edwards an Associate was likewise proposed. It was then hinted with great propriety by our late Secretary Mr. Newton, that he apprehended we should think it necessary that the Candidates should produce specimens of their abilities. we all acquiesced in this opinion. I acquainted Mr. Bonomi what the Council
f. 5 required and / Mr. Edwards's friend[s] gave the same information to him.

The President soon after receiv'd a letter from Mr. Edwards in which he proposes himself as a Candidate but [says] that if specimens are required—he is past being a boy and shall produce none. Mr. Bonomi sent his Specimen to the Exhibition, which was a Perspective drawing of his own invention of Lord Lansdown[e's] library²

At the following General meeting for the election of an Associate the President reminded the Academicians tha[t] the Professorship of Perspective was still vacant, and that Mr. Bonomi was on the list [of] Candidates³ to be an Associate with a view particularly to fill that office, that as they had seen his Specimen at the Exhibition they were to judge whether or not he was qualif[i]ed for the place he solicited, he carefully avoiding to utter a single word in his commendation. When the Pres^t sat down Mr. T. Sandby the Professor of Architecture without
f. 6 being called upon / by the President or any one else rose and said

¹ Minutes of the Council, 24 February, 1786: "Read the Letter sent to the Academicians with the Notice of Mr Wale's Death. Enquiry being made if any Letters were sent from Gentlemen who might offer themselves to succeed him as Professor of Perspective, No Letters being received, Resolved: That the Business be postponed for the present."

² Item no. 462 in the Exhibition of 1786 was Bonomi's "Design for a library for a nobleman in town".

³ Originally "was a Candidate". "a" has not been cancelled. The meeting he is discussing was held 6 November, 1786.

he did not know Mr. Bonomi having never seen him in his life but judging from the Drawing at the Exhibition he thought him eminently qualified to be Professor of Perspective to the Academy.

Notwithstanding this high authority in his favour, Mr. Bonomi was not elected an Associate.¹

At a succe[*e*]ding election of Associates Mr. Bonomi wished to decline being any longer a Candidate. I press'd him to continue his name on the List, [saying] that I would speak more fully upon the business at the next Election than I had hitherto done and that if I failed I never would ask him again. / According- f. 7
 f. 7
 At the next Election following² the President after mentioning that Mr. Bonomi was again a Candidate, & [having] complained of the little attention that had been hitherto paid to the filling the Chair of the Professor of Perspective [said] That it was full as disagreeable to him to drop council in unwilling Ears as it was irksome to them to hear it.

That nothing but a sense of duty could make him persevere as he had done for these five years past at every Election continually recommending them to fill this place, that it would continue to be his duty at every future election and beg'd them to relieve him from this disagreeable task and for once to / to f. 8
 f. 8
 set aside their friends or even Candidates of the greatest merit in other respects and give their Vote to the general Interest and honour of the Academy. in short to make the Academy itself whole and complete before they thought of its ornaments. That it could not be question'd that it was as much His duty as President and general Superintendent, to preserve and keep the Academy in repair, as it would be the duty of Sir W^m.

¹ Twenty-four candidates were proposed. Northcote, Hodges, and Opie, receiving 15, 12, and 11 votes respectively, were elected. Gilpin with 10, Bourgeois with 9, and Bonomi with 7 followed.

² Sir Joshua is here mistaken. The next election occurred 3 December, 1787, at which Reinagle, Bourgeois, and Bigg were elected, Bonomi receiving 11 votes, two less than Bigg. At the election following, 3 November, 1788, Fuseli was elected, receiving two more votes than Bonomi. The election Reynolds is now discussing is that held 2 November, 1789. Bonomi's unwillingness to continue as a candidate dates from the meeting in 1786. Cf. *Letters*, 178.

Chambers when a Pillar of the Academy was decayed to supply the deficiency with a new one. Sir W^m. he acknowledge[d] had one great advantage. by his FIA T the business was done at once, whereas the Prest^t. had been five years ineffectually recommending the Academicians to do what was certainly as much their duty
 f. 9 to support as it was the duty of the president to propose. / He concluded this part of his discourse by exhorting them to save an Infant Academy from the disgracefull appearance of expiring with the decrepitude of neglected old age.

It is necessary here to mention that the Prest^t had been informed that there was a party in the Academy who had resolved that Mr Edwards who was already an Associate should be the Professor whether he did or did not produce a specimen, and that they were resolved to unite in their votes in favour of any one of the Candidates, to prevent Bonomi from standing upon the same ground with Mr Edwards^t For this end they fixed their eyes on Mr. Gilpin an Artist of acknowledgd merit and certainly deserving their suffrages but it may be suspected that it was
 f. 10 not to his merit at present but to a faction (in which he / most certainly had no concern), he was indebted for an equal number of Votes with Bonomi. It became then a very irksome task for the Prest^t to be obliged to give the Casting Vote against him whom he would be glad to have favoured upon any other occasion. /

f. 11 The Prest^t. therefore took this opportunity of expatiating on the propriety and even the necessity of the Candidates whoever they were, producing specimens of their abilities, and when those were before them [he hoped] that they would give their vote in favour of the most able Artist uninfluenced by friendship, Country or any other motive but merit. That the honour of the Academy depended upon the reputation of its members for Genius and abilities and [he] reprobated the Idea which had been adopted, as he had been informed by many Academicians

^t Edwards, now chiefly known for his continuation of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, was already an Associate and was almost elected an Academician on 13 February, 1787 and on 10 March, 1788: had he succeeded, he would have been two steps above his rival.

That great abilities, or being able to produce splendid Drawings, were not necessary. Such sentiments he said might be excused if he were / electing a person to teach Perspective in one of those f. 12 boarding schools about London which are dignified with the name of Academys, but to be able to do well enough, was not the character of a Professor to a Royal Academy, which required its ornaments and decorations as well as what was merely necessary. that the highly ornamented ceiling of the room in which we were then assembled, sufficiently shews that Sir W^m. Chambers thought, and he thought justly that something more than what was merely necessary was required to a Royal Academy.¹

/ upon the abilities [*supra*, Genius] and character of its members f. 5a he reprobated the Idea tho it had been adopted as he understood by great Authority that great abilities or being able to produce splendid Drawings were not necessary and that moderate abilities were sufficient that Mr. Edwards was their friend, a very deserving man & would do well enough. He reprobated Ideas which he said became those boarding schools in the environs of London that are dignified with the name of Academie[s] but did not become a member of a Royal Academy which required its ornament and decoration as well as what was more usefull & necessary.

He reminded them of the promise and the engagement they entered into when they first receivd their Diploma[s] that they would do everything in their power for the honour and interest of the Academy that no private friendship or even relation should outweigh the duty and obligation which they owed to society—that Friendship however valuable, was likely from what he had observ'd / to be the bane of the Academy That the Academicians f. 6a when they voted for a member should consider themselves as Judges on the bench and as their² decisions are influenced by

¹ Among the MSS. pertaining to the *Discourses* in the Academy is the following fragment (f. 48), which may have been written on the non-existent f. 4a: "Sir W^m saying that a hired person will do well enough is as if in his own department he should say this unhearn block will support the Academy as well as a more ornamental one and *will do* we dont mind the look of it."

² *I.e.* the judges'. To bring this out Leslie italicized "their". (ii, 564).

justice alone an Acad[emician's] vote should be biassed solely by merit. He took notice of what a Member had said or more properly blab[b]ed at the Council, that he was convinced the vote he had given for Mr. Bonomi's antagonist he did not give according to his own Ideas of rectitude but that he had been solicited and had promised & he thought it his duty to fulfill his promise.¹ The Pres^t. argued that those promises which are made inadvertantly and which are afterwards found to be contrary to a general duty and / previous engagement and promise made to the Society to which he belongs, ought not to be kept, and added he would venture to absolve them from such an obligation. This Discourse had an effect on the hearers sufficient to ensure the election of Mr. B.²

At this advantage acquired by B. that of his being on the same ground with Mr. Ed both being now Associates the friends of Mr. Edwards *which indeed consisted of the whole Cabal Party the existence of which is so much to be lamented* were in the most violent rage, [and] accused themselves of want of precaution in not bringing together the whole party on that day. Their activity was now doubly exerted to the utmost; like the upholterer³ their own private business totally neglected for the public service.⁴ / *Having receiv'd certain intelligence of their intention of electing Mr. Edw[ards] I took an opportunity on the General Meeting to*

¹ Was this John Bacon? See *Letters*, 191 *et seq.* The Council at this time was made up of the following: Northcote, George Dance, Hodges, Opie, Barry, Bacon, Cosway, and Sir William Chambers.

² In his pocket-book for this date, 2 November, 1789, Reynolds has written in a bold hand, "Bonomi elected".

³ Unable to decipher this word, Leslie (ii, 565) omits the phrase. Sir Joshua is referring to Addison's upholsterer (*Tailor*, nos. 155 and 160).

⁴ After "public service" is a cross. I assume that upon reading the paragraph through Reynolds decided to insert a sentence. This was written on the back of the preceding page (the verso of f. 6a), which would be the most convenient place to write it, and its position in the paragraph was indicated by the cross. He wrote the sentence which in my text follows "public service", but not liking it, crossed it out and began (still on the verso of f. 6a) the following paragraph ("All the Outliers", etc.). Upon re-reading this he determined to insert it at a later point in his account (see below, pp. 262 and 273), and consequently crossed this out also, writing on the left-hand margin of f. 7a: "postponed".

have a talk with the Acad. previous to the Election reminding them in General Terms of their duty—That merit and not friendship should influence their Votes.

At this Election Mr. Edwards was proposed as a Candi[date]

All the Outliers were sent to, Voters¹ were summonsd from every quarter from whatever distance those who had for many years forsaken the Academy were present. the averidge number of a general meeting being about 18 there were no less than 30. Mr. Fuseli whom they advised to write a letter to the Council to / at last f. 7a (cont.)
they boasted under the various pretences, which I shall presently have occasion to mention they boasted of having secured a majority in favour of Mr. Edwards to be an Academician at the next election. about three months before the Election the Council in answer to a Letter receiv'd / from Mr. Edwards in which he f. 8a
DEMANDED the liberty of giving a lecture to the Academy as his Specimen to shew how well he was qualified to be Professor, informed him that he "could not be consider'd as a Candidate to be an Acadⁿ in order to be Profess of Perspective unless he produced a Drawing", and added that the Election would be on the 10th of Feb.²

¹ Originally followed by: "came from Windsor on purpose." Among others, the Sandbys lived at Windsor.

² This letter was read to the Council at the meeting on 11 December, 1789:

"Nov^r 16th. 1789

"Mr. Edwards Compliments to the President & Council of the Royal Academy and thinks himself Obliged to demand their permission to give one lecture in Perspective, before the Academicians & Associates.

"He will rest his success on the Judgment of Mr. Thomas Sandby, Mr. Richards, Mr. Rooker & Mr. Bonomi & a fifth Person who is not of the Academy which is Mr. T. Malton, Junior. E. considers this lecture as Probationary only & therefore does not expect that the Students should be present.

"An Answer is Requested.

"To the President & Council
 of the Royal Academy."

The Secretary was ordered to send the following answer:

"Sir

"It is the unanimous Opinion of the Council, That whoever is a

Mr. Edwards having been thus informed of the day he was to send his specimen, the President thought it his duty to inform Mr. Bonomi that his drawings might likewise be sent to the Academy on the 10th of Feb. The President had reason to expect he should find Mr. Ed[wards']s specimens at the Academy on that day, if he had not received a letter from Sir Wm. Chambers on Feb. 7 three days before the Election by which he was
 f. 9a informed that the business of filling up the / the vacancy & Chair of the Professor was to be entirely relinquishd, notwithstanding it was so far advanced THAT HE HAD "HEARTILY JOINED IN OPINION WITH MUCH THE GREATER NUMBER OF OUR MEMBERS WHO ARE CONVINCED THAT NO SUCH ELECTION meaning the Professor CAN BE NECESSARY"¹ /
 f. 8a verso that is, since Mr. Edwards is obliged to relinquish his pretensions of being a Candidate by the unlucky necessity of producing a Specimen, we are resolved that nobody else shall be Professor nay EVEN A CANDIDATE, as will appear presently from the disgracefull manner in which Mr. Bonomi's drawings were turned out of the Academy. / and added,
 f. 9a (cont.) "as far as I am able to judge, there appear other names in the list of Associates, better qualified to serve the Academy in its highest stations and one of these shall certainly have my voice"

It must be remarked that Sir Wm. means by the highest station, a simple Academician, and thinks that any one qualified, in all points to be an Academician would never condescend to teach an inferior and mechanick branch of Art.² whatever opinion Sir Wm. may entertain of the meanness of this Task of teaching what of course is in his estimation a mean Art I still

Candidate to be an Academician, for the purpose of being hereafter Professor of Perspective must produce a Drawing.—& inform Mr. Edwards, that there will be an Election for an Academician, on y^e 10th of Feby next."

¹ After "necessary" is a cross. On the verso of f. 8a, the sentence that follows in the text is written, preceded by a cross. This passage is printed by Leslie (ii, 575) as a note for a speech to the Council.

² "Turner did, however, *condescend* to become the Professor of Perspective" (Leslie and Taylor, ii, 566 n.).

apprehend that¹ / not only those Drawings which are of Mr. f. 8a verso
B'[s] invention shew him to be an able Architect. there are if
Sir W^m will take the trouble of inquire other works of his real
building done upon his designs and under his direction which
put him I apprehend upon the first class in his Profession as an
Architect, at least qualified to be an Academician on that ground
and from which his additional knowledge of Perspective ought
so far fro [not] exclude [him]. To do great works in Perspective
he must be an /

However² Sir W^m thought different tho formerly joined in f. 9ax
opinion with the President that Heaven and Earth ought to
be moved to fill this place in order that the Academy may not
suffer the disgrace in so early a stage of its existence as not to
be able to fill up its Vacancy, and to prevent the appear[ance]
of an Academy in its infancy having the appearance of decay or
neglected being kept in repair. Now [he] tells the President in
a letter that the business is now not only to be postponed but
the plan of having a Professor at all abandoned altogether.
THAT PERSPECTIVE WILL BE MUCH BETTER TAUGHT
WHILE LEFT AS NOW IN THE HANDS OF AN INGENIOUS
ASSOCIATE³ or even in the hands of a Stranger, duly qualified

¹ This is the last word on the page. Leslie, not finding a continuation at the beginning of a new page, omitted the entire sentence. The continuation, I believe, was made at the bottom of the verso of f. 8 and is given here as I think Reynolds intended it. He says that whether or not the teaching of perspective is mean, Bonomi deserves to be made an Academician on his abilities as an architect. The part of the passage which is on the verso of f. 8 is printed separately, and not accurately, by Leslie (ii, 575) as a note for a speech to the Council. Judging by Reynolds's habit throughout this MS. of writing insertions on the verso of the preceding page, I feel that I am justified in placing this passage where I have. The ending is illegible, but the meaning is apparent.

² This paragraph begins a folio number 9x. I have inserted it between ff. 9 and 10, believing that Reynolds wrote it after f. 10 and for this reason numbered it "9x".

³ The "Ingenious Associate" was Edwards. He had offered to teach Perspective on 10 October, 1788, had appeared before the Council on 14 November, and had drawn up a syllabus of his lectures. On 12 December, it was resolved "That twenty Lecons in Perspective be given during the Winter Months. Viz^t beginning in October & ending when

Sir Wm. in this letter using the plural number (we), marked sufficiently that he had enlisted himself under the banner of this resolute partizan Mr. Tyler who had courage to dare anything, to brow-beat the President in his Chair; and I am sorry to add Sir Wm. held up his hand to support the motion which this daring man made /

- f. 10a In my answer, without entering into the Question whether this Professorship was or was not a mean employment or a needless office in the Academy, I insisted that a law in our Institutions signed by the King which expressly says—"There shall be a Professor of Perspective" must be observed as our rule of Conduct till this law was regularly repealed by the Council That in regard to his not thinking "it necessary to elect an Academician merely to teach Perspective"—I beg leave to remind Sir Wm. that he himself was the person who first proposed this Expedient¹—of searching for some person and electing him expressly qualified for this purpose, since no Academician would accept of it However Sir Wm. had now for reasons best known to himself had changed his mind / *any person* and now appears Indifferent to whom he should give his Vote with the exception only of Mr Bonomi—and to do him justice he was always steady in his opposition to him. /

- f. 10a verso In² a previous letter to this Feb 3d Sir Wm. Ch[amber]s had I confess irritated me a little by thinking proper to reprimand me for having given what he called a Charge to the Academicians. *That he was sorry to hear the P- accused of being*

the Academy closes for the Exhibition; and that he be paid one Pound ten shillings for each Attendance which shall be at least two Hours once a week." It was further resolved, "That the Lecons. . . begin on the first Tuesday after the opening of the Academy Viz^t Tuesday 13th Jan'y 1789." Under this arrangement Edwards was *Teacher* of Perspective. He wished to be *Professor*, for which he had to be an Academician, instead of a mere Associate. He continued to teach his course, but was never promoted.

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 251, f. 4.

² Presumably Reynolds, after writing f. 11, decided to add a paragraph here. After "opposition to him" he made a cross. The page opposite him would have been, I believe, the verso of f. 10a, where, preceded by a cross, is the paragraph which here follows.

influenced by such undue applications / That¹ he was sorry to hear of Peers² interfering in our little Academical concerns. That he was still more sorry to hear the P accused of being influenced by such undue applications The hauteur of this reprimand I confess a little mortified my pride / that the Electors being all competent judges of the business before [them] a Charge from the President could hardly be deemed necessary, and must have been as displeasing to those who had the right to elect as injurious to all who had the chance of being elected. that some Cat I had inadvertently let out of the bag at the last general meeting has so offended W. C. What this Cat alluded to, I desired an explanation—but got no other answer than that it was really a very innocent beast carelessly let out of the Bag—As to their³ being competent judges I never disputed but I still thought it necessary that those judges should have materials before [them]⁴ for their judgment to be exercised, and indeed my requiring it and enforcing it properly make a part of what Sir W^m. called a Charge /

f. 9a verso

f. 10a verso
(cont.)

When the 10th of Feb arrived, I went to the Academy prepared by Sir Wm.[s] letter to meet with a so formidable opposition that I told some of my friends &c which I was far from considering despicable now Sir W^m Chambers had thought proper to give them his Countenance he was himself a host⁵ however I flattered myself that I should be able to persuade the majority not to relinquish a business which they themselves had

f. 11a
(cont.)

¹ Having written the verso of f. 10a he read it over, I assume, and decided to add a few more sentences. He crossed out the sentence "That he was sorry" etc., and rewrote it on the verso of f. 9a, which (before f. 9ax had been written) would have been the nearest blank page. He has not marked this with the usual cross, but the context of the addition places it here.

² Alluding to Lord Aylesford's interest in Bonomi. Cf. *post*, p. 271.

³ After "their" he has inserted "Acad[emicians]".

⁴ *Supra* "to enable them to be competen[t] judge[s]".

⁵ This passage bewildered Leslie, possibly because it is crowded into a small space. "host" is of course used in the sense of "army". Leslie (ii, 570) read it as "hopt" (hoped), which made the passage so confusing that he omitted most of it.

now taken up & so far advanced.—When I entered the Academy I began to change my *opinion* confidence. A greater number than ever appeared I suspected that this number was not in my favor
 f. 10a verso (see opposite)⁷ ¹ / it did not proceed from zeal in supporting oppressed merit but that they were drawn together by the head of that party which to do them justice, both by their personal application and sollicitation by letter had shewn an action that would have done them honour if exerted in a better cause / The
 f. 11a (cont.) whole appearance was new to me *see opp* Instead of the members as usual straggl[ing] about the room, they were already seated in perfect order and with the most profound silence. I went directly to the Chair and looking round for the Candidates drawings I at last spied those of Mr. Bonomi thrust in the darkest corner at the farthest end of the room I then desired the Secretary to place them on the side tables where they might be seen. He at first appeared not to hear me. I repeated my request. He then
 f. 12a rose and in a sluggish manner walked to the / the other end of the room (passing the drawings) rung the bell and then stood with his folded arms in the middle of the room; Observing this extraordinary conduct of the Secretary, *I found he had joined the Party which I considered as a rebellion in him not* I rose from my seat and took one of the Drawings in my hand and a—² took the other and placed them on the Tables, the Secretary who has thought proper to join the party which in reality may be called in regard to him, rebellion not deigning to touch them he only said he had rung the bell for the servant, which servant it is curious to remark (as it shews their rude spirit and gross manners of this cabal³) was to mount that long flight of steps in order to move two drawings from one side of the room to the other.

¹ The brackets are mine. Leslie (ii, 570) changed “see” to “but”. However, opposite Reynolds at this time was the verso of f. 10a, on which appears the sentence which follows in my text. Possibly the figure “7” means that the note opposite f. 7a was to be inserted here (see above, p. 256), or the same note which again appears on the verso of f. 7b (see below, p. 273).

² Blank in MS. Leslie (ii, 571 n.) suggests “servant”.

³ “of this cabal” is inserted above the line as an afterthought.

The drawings were now placed where they could be seen, tho no Academician except Mr. T. Sandby deign'd to rise from the seat to look at them.¹

f. 13a The President having resumed his seat open'd the business of their Meeting That it was to choose an Academician in the room of Mr. Meyers² that he should not now take up their time by repeating / what he had so often recommended that they would put aside every Candidate and turn their eyes on him who was qualified and willing to accept of the Office of Professor of Perspective which had been vacant so many years, to the great disgrace of the Academy. That as Mr. Bonomi's rival by not sending to the Academy a Specimen of his abilities appeared to have declined the contest He hoped, hoped he confessed rather than expected that the Votes for the honour of the Academy would be unanimous on this occasion³ that they would consider the Question before them as Ay or No, is the Author of those drawings, which are on the table Qualified or not qualified for the office he solicits. /

The Prest. open'd the business of the meeting, that it was to choose an Academician in the room of Mr. Meyer—that he need not repeat what he had so often said at former meetings, the necessity of filling up the place of Professor of Perspective which had been so long vacant to the great disgrace of the Academy. Mr. Bonomi, as they all knew had been many Years a candidate for that place, And, as the Academicians had at last taken this business up by Electing him an Associate for this very purpose, His drawings now were on the table for their inspection.—And as his rival Mr. Edwards appear'd to have declin'd the contest from his not sending a specimen, He hoped the Question before them would be, Ay or No—was he, or was he not qualified for the office. /

¹ The passage printed in the right-hand column is taken from two unnumbered sheets which I found in the Minutes of the General Assembly for 10 February, 1790. It is in Reynolds's handwriting, and the paper bears the same watermark as do the other sheets used in the *Apologia*. Whether Reynolds himself left this in the book or not is impossible to determine. The account of the meeting as given by the Secretary is far less full than either of the two given here.

² Jeremiah Meyer died 20 January, 1789.

³ Several sentences have been crossed out at this point.

f. 14a AS SOON AS THE PRST. SAT DOWN, *Mr. Tyler* AN ACADEMICIAN WHO IS & HAS BEEN LONG CONSIDERED AS THE SPOKESMAN OF THE PARTY DEMANDED *in a peremptory tone* WHO ORDERED THOSE DRAWINGS TO BE SENT TO THE ACADEMY. THE PRESIDENT ANSWERD IT WAS BY HIS ORDER. HE ASKED A SECOND TIME IN A STILL MORE PEREMPTORY TONE. THE PRESIDENT SAID I DID. I move that they be sent out or turned out of the room. Does any one second this motion—Mr. Barry rose with great indignation No says he Nobody can be found so lost to all shame as to dare to second so infamous a Motion. Drawings that would do honour to the greatest Academy that ever existed in the world &c. *he said much more with great vehemence.* Mr. Banks with great quietness seconded the motion On the shew of hands a great majority appeared for their expulsion The President then rose to explain to them the propriety of Mr. Bonomi's drawings being there, to oppose¹ Mr. Edwards[']s which were expected and orderd by the Council but he was interrupted

f. 15a from various quarters / that the business was over, they would hear no explanation, that it was irregular Mr. Copley said to talk upon business that was past &

Mr. Tyler demanded by whose authority the drawings were sent to the Academy.—

The President answer'd, by mine.

Mr. Tyler then moved that those Drawings should be put out of the room,—

this motion was seconded by Mr. Banks. The Question being then put—was carried by a great majority.—

The President afterwards endeavoured to explain,

but being refused a hearing—

¹ Leslie (ii, 573) prints "with". Reynolds had written this, but altered it to the present reading.

determin'd. The Prest. acquiesced he immediately proceeded to
and they proc[e]ded in¹ the Elec- the Election, &c &c.
tion when Mr. Fusely² a very in-
genious Artist but no Candidate for the Professors Chair—was
elected an Academician by a majority of 22 against 8³ the next
Morning The President resign'd by letter to the Secretary both
his Precedency and his seat as Academician. /

Having⁴ now finished my relati[o]n of the cause that induced f. 1b
me to take this step I cannot conclude without obviating a
suspicion that I think will naturally arise in every readers mind,
that something is still conceild, that an implicit confidence ought
not to be granted to him who tells his own story.⁵ A[s] great a
majority of any society cannot be imagine[d] so preposterously
to unite in opposing the interest of that Society, in which its
existence depen[ds;] to treat their principal officer with un-
provoked insolence setting their face against the admission of

¹ Leslie (ii, 573) prints "to", but Reynolds had altered this to "in".

² Sir Joshua's sincerity in calling Fuseli "very ingenious" is corroborated by the anecdote related by John Knowles (*Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, London, 1831, i, 43). After seeing some of his drawings, Reynolds assured him that "were he at his age, and endowed with the ability of producing such works, if any one were to offer him an estate of a thousand pounds a-year, on condition of being anything but a painter, he would, without the least hesitation, reject the offer". From the same source (i, 178) we learn that Fuseli, "who had always been treated with great kindness by Sir Joshua", called on him to solicit his vote in this election. "The President received him with politeness, acknowledged the claims which he had to the distinction of an Academician, from the great talents which he possessed, and which no man appreciated more than himself; but he said 'Were you my brother, I could not serve you on this occasion, for I think it not only expedient, but highly necessary for the good of the Academy that M. Bonomi should be elected:' and he added, 'on another vacancy, you shall have my support'. Fuseli in answer, thanked Sir Joshua for his candour, and hoped if he tried his friends on *this* occasion, he would not be offended. To this the President said, 'Certainly not'."

³ Cf. *post*, p. 273 n. 4.

⁴ This folio bears the heading (crossed out): "Approac[h]ing to a conclusion." For "conclusion" he substituted "last part".

⁵ "He that writes an apology for a single action, to confute an accusation, to recommend himself to favour, is indeed always to be suspected of favouring his own cause." (*Idler* no. 84.)

acknowledged Genius & abilities into the Academ[y] not even suffering it [to] remain in their presence. Can it be conceivd unless their passion[s] were irritated by¹ some irregular or overbearing tyrannical conduct in the President, so that it was irksome to them to do even their duty under such circumstance[s?]. *Such a successful rebellion loses its name and is stamp'd with the sanction of lawful reformation or revolution* there must be that it is a violent assumption to suppose that *Mr West* the most distinguishd names in the Academy men of high reputation in their several professions should be incited by a few of the most inconsiderable members who perhaps had no other object at first in view than to elevate themselves into some consequence in the Academy conscious of their own nothingness out if it. /

f. 1 b That² appearances are against me I fairly acknowledge, and indeed is additional for making this apology to the public I mean the appearance of probability that on a question where there is no interest, no resentment supposed to operate as a bias to the judgment, of a majority of 12 in 30 Voters is a presumption in its favour. There are likewise other circumstances which I shall mention in the course of this narrative wh[ich] according to the representation [of] some of my good friends in the Academ[y] will appear not much in my favour /

f. 2 b I must leave these respectable Aca[demicians] to account for their own conduct.³ I have naturally turned my thoughts to

¹ Originally he had written "Can it be conceived without some irregular", etc. What is given here was inserted after "without". He neglected to cross out "without".

² This passage is on a half-sheet pinned to f. 1 b.

³ At least one member did this. A 29-page pamphlet, entitled: *Observations on the present state of the Royal Academy. . . by an old Artist*, a copy of which is in my possession, appeared at this time, giving the story of the dispute from the other side. One sentence will show the spirit of the article: "Indeed, he had been so long in the habit of dictating from his gilded chair, and had been so continually flattered by the submission of those over whom he presided, that, perhaps, he chose rather to hazard a falsehood, though degrading to his honour, than suffer a diminution of that dignity which was so dear to his pride" (pp. 6 et seq.). The "falsehood" was Reynolds's assertion that Edwards had declined to become a candidate. Reynolds makes it clear he meant that because Edwards had refused to obey the Council it was to be inferred that he was

endeavouring to investigate their motives, how such a majority could be incited to take so active a part in this business, for it was [not] a mere lukewarm opposition to Bonomi, as appears from Members being sent at twenty miles distance and *from* the presence of others who had not attended for many years till call'd upon by this great occasion, and justice to them obliges me to add the Authority the[y] acquired by being able to add the name of Sir W. C. to their party who[m] no body can suppose not to have the interest of the Academy at heart from whose interference it owes in a great measure even its existence and from¹ / whose support this party acquired without a tower f. 1b verso
of strength / By this Statement, no doubt appearances are against f. 2b (cont.)
the Pr[esident]. He cannot reasonably expect such perfect confidence from the world in his favour—[that] like Uriel he *only is*

faithful found

Amongst the faithless faithful only He

Amongst innumerable false.²

—This is too much to be allowed to humanity. such indulgence[s] would imply an unwarra[n]ted partiality to *the President*³ any individual who do[es] / not think it worth while to enter f. 1b verso
in to the Causes but know[s] only the effect / (cont.)

no longer a candidate. Northcote, referring in his autobiography to this article, writes: "Mr. Fuseli is shrewdly suspected of having had a considerable hand in composing the pamphlet." (Gwynn's *Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter*, London, 1898, 217.)

¹ Leslie (ii, 577) does not complete the sentence because it is left unfinished on f. 2b. Apparently Reynolds had originally intended to end the sentence with "existence". He then desired to add the concluding phrase, writing "and from". There was no room for more on this page, since, presumably, he had already written the next sentence; he therefore completed the phrase on the verso of f. 1b.

² *Paradise Lost*, v, 896–8. Leslie (ii, 577 n.) notes that the quotation refers to Abdiel, not Uriel.

³ Leslie (ii, 577) ends the sentence with "the President", though Reynolds crossed it out. This was done, I imagine, because he could not make sense of what remains undeleted. Since there was not room at the bottom of the page to finish the sentence, Reynolds completed it on the verso of f. 1b.

f. 1b verso I¹ shall only state what I have heard myself openly given or [what I have been] informed by letters as reasons against Bonomi if there are other causes let the person whom the Party have chosen for their leader & spokesman stand forth and convince the world that his insulting the President in his Chair was reasonable & proper & no more than what his conduct deserved as appears from the great support that motion received /

f. 3b

Second Part

I shall now mention what appear to be the cause or causes that operated in this opposition to Bonomi, for variety of reasons have been given out by this party, if one will not affect the purpose, another shall. to different Men different reasons have been used to lend their assistance but they all centered in this object tha[t] Bonomi should not be the Man. To explain this it is necessary to go back a few years when this combination first made its appearance in the Academy, not composed of the most considerable Artists but of men in a manner unknown out of the Academy—they still made a formidable phalanx by their union in it every Election was being determined according to their pleasure.² *When at the /*

f. 4b The first objection made against Mr. Bonomi was that he was a Foreigner (which indeed could not be denied) This extraordinary objection was first started by Sir William Chambers in Council. He asked the P. in a peevish tone why he would persevere in favour of this Foreigner³ *but recollecting that a*

¹ This passage is written on a half-sheet and pinned on the verso of f. 1b.

² After "pleasure" he had begun another sentence, but crossed it out and put in its place a cross with four dots in the openings. Before the first sentence of f. 4b appears this same mark, which clearly indicates that it was to follow.

³ Reynolds started to write "and he added, not". He deleted this and began again with "but recollecting", etc. This he crossed out, saving it until a few sentences later.

John Francis Rigaud served on the Council during the years 1786 and 1787. Sir William's term was from 1785 to the beginning of 1787, which indicates that this objection was voiced in 1786.

*Foreigner Mr. Rigaud was present he added, not that I have any objection to Foreigners, but that it will appear to the world as if no Englishman could be found capable of filling a Professors Chair. This speech I heard with great surprise and I confess with some indignation in hearing a sentiment which appeared to me so illiberal, and so unworthy the person it came from, added to the impudence of insinuating such [a thing] as an aversion of Foreigners in the presense of Mr. Rigaud who was then one of the Council, my anxiety for his feeling on this occasion is indeed the cause of its being impressed on my remembrance that he was present at this meeting of the Council. / on¹ my remem- f. 5b
brance of his being present.*

This idea about Foreigners meeting with congenial minds and acquiring this strength from the authority of Sir Wm, they now openly avowed sentiments which before they felt some shame publicly to acknowledge and which were smothered under an auk[w]ard suspicion² of their illiberality. I took an opportunity at a General meeting, to endeavour [to] do away [with] this prejudice against Foreigner[s] that it was an Idea but just now adopted by some Academicians but that it was by no means acknowledged in the laws & principles of our institution as appears by our having already receiv'd into the Academy six [as] Academician[s] That our Royal³ Academy, with great propriety made no distinction between Natives & Foreigners. that it was not our business to examine where [a] Genius was born before he was admitted in to our society, it was sufficient that the Candidate had merit & that the Candidate⁴ *set up his Staff amongst us. As in the present Case of Mr. Bonomi who has resided*

¹ This phrase, beginning a new page, is merely another way of expressing the same thought. Either this or the preceding phrase "on my remembrance that he was present", etc., should have been deleted.

² Reynolds had written "conscientiousness", which was not deleted.

³ Originally "That an Academy". "an" is not crossed out. "All that the Academy has ever required is that its members should be resident in Great Britain" (*Leslie and Taylor*, ii, 568 n.). As a matter of fact, one fourth of the 36 original members of the Academy were foreigners. (See Hodgson and Eaton, *The Royal Academy and its Members*, London, 1905, 84.)

⁴ "that Mr. Bonomi" deleted.

here upwards more than 25 years. was not a temporary sojourner

f. 6b amongst us / *having resided here 25 years and [being] master of the English [language]. I might have added that he prob[ab]ly has been in England as many years as Sir Wm Chambers himself before he was an Academician how many years Sir Wm. has been in England I never was informed.*¹ / Sir Wm himself perhaps begun to reflect that the objection to Foreigners was peculiarly improper from him /

f. 6b (cont.) The chief argument used for not admitting Foreigners into the Academy was, that it would be no longer an English Academy. I combated this opinion likewise *with every argument that I could suggest* I reminded the Academicians that this institution was formed for the Students, our successors and not for ourselves. / that² the world concerns itself with the state of Arts in the Nation not of the state of the Academicians of whom the public little care where or when they were born / The intent of the institution was to raise a School of Arts in this Nation that if we could accelerate their growth by foreign manure it was our duty to use it, without any retrospect used upon ourselves / That³ if anything was to be inferd from a single instance our Neighbours the French behaved with more liberality and good sense and as an instance sa[i]d that when I was in Paris about 20 years ago I dined with the director of the Gob[e]lins, who was a Scot[s]man tho on this Manufacture we all know the French plumes themselves as much upon as their Academy⁴

¹ Leslie (ii, 569) prints this sentence and rightly asserts that it was crossed out in the MS. But he does not mention the fact that directly opposite this (on the verso of f. 5b), and undeleted, is the sentence which follows in the text. Sir Joshua's statement here refers to the fact that Sir William was born in Stockholm.

² After "ourselves" is a cross. On the opposite page (the verso of f. 5b) is the sentence here given. For some reason Leslie (ii, 569) omits half a page of the MS. at this point.

³ This sentence begins a folio numbered "6x". Folios 5b and 6b are, unlike all the others (except ff. 1-2b), joined together, the others being separate sheets. I imagine that Reynolds numbered this particular folio "6" because the previous "f. 6" was joined to f. 5, and that noticing this oversight later, he added the "x".

⁴ In the autumn of 1768 Reynolds went to Paris with William Burke. In his diary for Tuesday, 11 October, Reynolds has written, "Mr.

Tho this aversion of a foreigner may be justly suspected still to lurk in the bosoms of our Royal Academicians yet it is kept under and utter'd only in a whisper. I take therefore so much credit to myself that the Academy has not been lately disgraced by any act founded [upon] an open avowal of such illiberal opinions.¹

The speech of Sir Wm. relating to Foreigners sufficiently explain[s] his uniform opposition to Mr. Bonomi in a letter from Sir Wm. he says he acknowledges [that he] had no partiality to any body else, he was for any |

The catch-word Foreigner was now no longer considered as f. 7b
[an] ostensible reason for opposition to B. and in its place was now substituted another that it was notoriously known that Bonomi he was under the Patronage and Protection of a noble Earl for whom I have too great respect to mention his name upon this trivial occasion.² This as well as his being a Foreigner was but two true and has never been denied, but what in the name of goodness would these Gent[lemen] be at To be serious, Is it to be a fixed principal with the members of the Academy to set their faces against every artist that has had the good fortune to find a Patron to renounce a Candidate for any office of the Academy of whom any man thinks well / Is³ it a duty of an f. 6bx verso
Academician befor[e] he gives his vote or determines his opinion of his merit, first to enquire where he was born or who

Nelson". James, or Jacques, Neilson was one of the "entrepreneurs" at the Gobelins, the famous establishment for the manufacture of tapestry. He was not, as Reynolds asserts, director. "Parmi les entrepreneurs, il en est un qui domine les autres par l'initiative, l'intelligence, l'activité, et les qualités professionnelles, c'est Neilson . . . Il était Écossais de nationalité." (Gerspach, *La Manufacture Nationale des Gobelins*, Paris, 1892, 78.)

¹ Above "opinions" Reynolds has written "sentiment". Neither has been crossed out.

² The Right Honourable Heneage Finch, fourth Earl of Aylesford (1751-1812), Lord Steward of the Household. Reynolds thrice painted his portrait (*Graves and Cronin*, i, 39). His name is written in Reynolds's pocket-book for 10 February, the day of the election, as well as for 16 February.

³ After "well" is a cross. On the opposite page (the verso of f. 6bx), similarly designated, is the sentence which is given here.

- f. 7b (cont.) first recommended him / The first intelligence which I had of this new reason of opposition to Mr. Bonomi, that he was patronised by a nobleman I receiv'd in a letter by Sir Wm. Chambers. He begins with these words.¹ which to me were then totally incomprehensible nor did I know but by enquiry what was alluded to by this² extraordinary sentence, or how it affected me. *He proceeds—I am still more sorry.* and concludes that it would be more honour to himself and credit to his friends or his friends friend that he should not come in to the Academy by violence and dint of powerfull protection. /
- f. 6bx verso (cont.) there were other insinuations which I could now explain—my friends. meaning me or friends friend meaning the noble
- f. 8b Earl. / *what I here stated were the reasons given with a view to their preference to* Tho it was in Mr. Edwards favour that [he was] neither a foreigner nor had the disgrace of having [a] Patron.³ /
- f. 7b verso They were now of opinion that Perspective might be better taught by Lecture than by Example. His friends⁴ advised him therefore to write to the Council TO DEMAND the liberty of giving a Lecture instead of a specimen to them. This he did accordingly and his friend[s] supported an opinion that a man shews his abilities better by a lecture than by drawing better by being able to talk than being able to do. I [would] ask one of this party whether if he was to put his son an apprentice, he would choose for his master the man who was able to execute great works or the man who was able to talk about it. [I would have had them consider] That the students were our Children and

¹ Blank in MS.

² Reynolds originally wrote "those", but altered it to "this". In order to make it more grammatical Leslie, who prints "those" (ii, 570), has changed the rest of the sentence. In the same place Leslie asserts that the following sentence is "quite illegible" and crossed out. Only the first part is deleted. I give the rest as it is in the MS. The sentence beginning "there were other" is on the page opposite Reynolds, but obviously follows.

³ After "Patron" is a cross. On the opposite page (the verso of f. 7b) is a similar mark followed by the passage which Leslie (ii, 561) inserts in the first part of the narrative.

⁴ *I.e.*, Edwards's. For the letter see *ante*, p. 257 n. 2.

it was our duty to provide for them the best of masters and not to make that wretched conclusion that because a man was excellent in works he therefore is deficient in teaching. / and that Mr. Ed[wards] should be forced to relinquish his pretensions by the demand of a specimen put the whole Party¹ in a ferment / *All² the outlyers were requested under various pretenses from whatever distance to attend this important day of [February] 10th, those who had not enter'd the Academy for many years were now brought together the averidge of the number of a General meeting is about 18 there were now present 30 of which Mr. Fuseli had 22 in his favour. I must beg leave to add that however high my opinion is of Mr. Fuselis merit and of his deserving this distinction, it was still owing to their determind opposition to Bonomi / and the last resolution of the Cabal was, That since Mr. Ed[wards] could not be elected nobody else should The place should continue to lye dormant and they agreed to give their Vote to Mr. Fuseli, who tho' undoubtedly very deserving of that distinction yet very probably even his merit would not have drawn so many member[s] together and from such distance—a greater number than were ever known to have been assembled upon any other occasion if their activity had not been instigated³ by other motives than zeal for his honour—what makes me to think it he had now, out of 30 22⁴ Votes in his favour, and in a former election he had only—⁵ & Mr. Hamilton was elected. /*

So far was I from wishing to oppose ill success [to] Mr. Fuseli,

¹ I have omitted "were" which stands between "Party" and "in". Reynolds changed the construction of the sentence, inserting "put".

² After "ferment" is a cross. Perhaps it marks the place where the passage which follows in my text was to be inserted. This passage is opposite, but was crossed out. Cf. *ante*, pp. 257 and 262.

³ Above "instigated" he has written "quikend". Neither is deleted.

⁴ Sir Joshua's figures are not quite correct. In the first ballot Fuseli led with 19 votes. Bonomi received 8, Humphry 2, Edwards 1, and Bourgeois 1. The second ballot was therefore between Bonomi and Fuseli alone. The former secured 9, the latter 21. The error in Leslie's note (ii, 574) is due to a misprint.

⁵ Blank in MS. Sir Joshua refers to the election held 10 February, 1789, when in the first ballot Hamilton received 15 votes, Bourgeois 7, and Fuseli 5.

that I believe I was the first who advised him to be a Candidate at the time he was elected Associate¹ as I considered his talents would be an acquisition to the Academy, but I thought it a more incumbent duty on a President to make the Academy that itself his object. to make that whole & complete, [rather] than from private friendship electing² a simple Academitian tho he should [be] the greatest ornament of the Art that ever existed.^{3/}

f. 10b I had the honour of receiving the thanks of the Academy FOR THE ABLE AND ATTENTIVE MANNER in which I had discharged my duty.⁴ But as if some dæmon still preserved his Influence in this Society, that nothing should be right[l]y done, those Thanks were not signed by the Chairman according to regularity & cust[o]m but by the Secretary alone and sent to the Ex President in the manner of a Common Note closed with a Waver and without even an Envelope and presented to the Ex president by the hands of the common arrant boy of the A[cademy,] not as a Resolution but the Secretary was desired only to inform. and⁵ to make this motion still more ridiculous it was made by Mr. Tyler and seconded by Mr. Banks Whether this was studied neglect or ignorance of propriety I have no means of knowing. but so much at least may be discovered that the Persons who have now taken upon them[s]elves the direction of a Royal Academy are as little versed in the little requisites of civil intercourse, as they appear to be unknowing of the more substantial interest and true honour of that society of which they are member[s].⁶

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 265 n. 2. This statement is re-enforced by Knowles (*op. cit.* i, 159), where it is said that Reynolds and Boydell endeavoured to make him enter his name as a candidate.

² "electing" is crossed out in the MS., but Sir Joshua changed his sentence and would have been forced to restore it.

³ This folio has been cut off in the middle and pinned on a blank folio. I believe that what was written on the rest of the page would have been connected with folio 10b, which follows in the text.

⁴ Passed at the meeting of the General Assembly, 3 March.

⁵ The rest of this sentence is written as a footnote.

⁶ Here, seemingly, the second part of the *Apologia* ends. On the verso of this folio is an endorsement which might serve as title for this part: "Detail of circumstances relating to the matter of Bonomi—&

Conclusion

f. (1)c

I would now ask any person whether I can ever flatter myself with being any longer of use when I am not suffered even to keep the Acad[emy] in repair

To venture myself with a set of men the majority of which either from weakness or malevolence ar[e] so ready to be led away and enlist under the banner of *what ever* be led to wher-ever impudent boldness will undertake to direct them / I¹ cannot act with such a majority and that majority encreasing every [? day;] the Elections are already in their hands and I am sorry to see so much timidity where I expected more firmness—so lit[t]le sagacity in not seeing the real Interest of their / I did not quit my station because I could not persuade the Aca[demicians to] defend the garrison to the last and dye in the breach even after Sir W^m. Chamb[ers] had deserted the defence and and had joind in the attack *but by their junction they were so insultingly triumphant insolent* which this inspired them with that I fear it did accelerate my resignation / The filling this place had occupied the attention of the Academy for some months past—This business of filling the Profess[orship] was fairly taken up and was now before them both from [? the Institution] & Council I still heard from all sides That Mr. Edwards was to be the Man whether he produced a drawing or not. However this scheme as I before observ'd was abandon'd but four days before the Election *Our little book of the Institution was to be laid on the shelf as useless. Sir W^m gave many reasons why the business*

f. (2)c

f. (2)c verso

f. (3)c

Justification—.” The pages which follow in my text are, except for the final one, unnumbered. They are less finished even than the pages which have preceded, and the order in which they here appear is most questionable. I have simply grouped them at the end because they do not fit in earlier, and because some of them were obviously intended to be used in the conclusion. Since Sir Joshua was prevailed upon to return to the Academy as president about a month after he had resigned, there was no necessity for him to conclude the paper.

¹ I have omitted the first part of this folio, most of which is crossed out. It begins: “After *Rubiliac* Mr. Bacons Lecture The students are our Children It's our duty to give them such masters as we would give to our son” (cf. *ante*, f. 7 b verso, on p. 272).

should not only be postponed but the Idea of having a Professor abandoned /

f. (4)^c The whole Fabric the work of years was shaken to its very foundation and all its glory tarnishd /

f. (4)^c verso The Politician who shall read this account will envy the little attention to the general Interest even to its destruction provided they can raise themselves into consideration

Men who have been used to lay[ing] down the law in Ale-houses to Masons & Bricklayers presume to interfere in a higher station where he has crept in by mere accident /

f. 5^c I beg leave to guard myself against it being said hereafter that I retired from the Academy in disgust because I could not bring the majority of the Academy to adopt my opinions, I would ask^r is it a matter of opinion *from duty* whether it is the duty of the Academy to vote for the filling [of] this place and the Presidents to endeavour to put in force the laws of the Institution [?] /

^r Leslie (ii, 576) reads "assist", which makes no sense. Perhaps it could be read as follows: "I would ask it as a matter of opinion—whether", etc. The page, filled with interlineations and deletions, is extremely difficult to decipher. It has been numbered "5" by Sir Joshua.

APPENDIX IV

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOSHUA'S WRITINGS

"I have not courage enough to appear in public without your imprimatur." *Sir Joshua to Johnson* [? 1777].

To include a formal bibliography in such a study as this requires no apology. The information which follows sheds additional light on Sir Joshua's literary career. Previous attempts at preparing a bibliography of the writings of Reynolds have been limited to a mere listing of various editions and are marked by extraordinary errors of omission and commission.

I have here included everything written by Sir Joshua which is known to have been published during his lifetime. And I have added to these items the first two editions of his *Works*, because they serve as the basis for all subsequent texts. Since the publication of Malone's second edition in 1798, nothing of any bibliographical importance has appeared. The *Works* (called the *Literary Works* in the edition of 1819 and thereafter to distinguish them from volumes of engravings after Sir Joshua's paintings) were frequently reprinted, appearing in 1801, 1809, 1819, 1824, 1867, and with a memoir by Henry William Beechey in 1835. Beechey's edition was reprinted in the Bohn Library series in 1845 and in this form has gone through many editions.

Not counting the number of times they have been included in the *Works*, the *Discourses* have appeared in at least thirty editions since 1800. Noteworthy among these are Burnet's edition in 1842, Sir Edmund Gosse's in 1884, E. G. Johnson's in 1891, and Roger Fry's in 1905. The most scholarly editions are those edited by Dr E. Leisching (1893) and Louis Dimier (1909). Perhaps the most curious is that published in Hudson, Ohio, in 1853, with the proud if inaccurate boast on the title-page: "First American Edition." (The *Discourses* had been published

in Boston by Wells and Lilly in 1821.) My copy of the edition published in London in 1820 was presented to William Rossetti by Thomas Woolner. The most easily acquired edition is that in the World's Classics, with an introduction by Austin Dobson, and the most satisfactorily printed is that issued in 1924 by the Royal Academy, with an introduction by Mr W. R. M. Lamb.

The bibliography which follows consists chiefly of the individual discourses, which were published soon after they had been delivered at the Academy. They appeared as pamphlets in quarto, in marbled paper wrappers with end-leaves, and the price of them rose from a shilling for the first to three shillings for the seventh and all subsequent ones. Although twenty-two years elapsed between the printing of the first and last discourses, the format for them remained unchanged. There are no headlines on a page; each page is centrally numbered in arabic numerals placed between square brackets (round brackets in the first three); and there are catchwords throughout. Uncut copies are relatively scarce. Of the copies which I have seen the largest measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times $12\frac{1}{4}$ in. I have listed all of the association copies which I have been able to find, but such a list is necessarily incomplete. Almost every copy which I have examined was a present, and when an uninscribed copy turns up, it usually lacks the half-title or preliminary leaf on which Sir Joshua normally wrote. Apparently he presented a copy of every discourse to each member of the Academy, each member of the Club, and to a great number of his many friends and relations.

In referring to some of the reviews I have made use of my colleague B. C. Nangle's recent publication, *The Monthly Review, First Series, 1749-1789. Indexes of Contributors and Articles*, Oxford, 1934.

1. *Three Letters to the Idler, 1759-1761*

Reynolds contributed nos. 76, 79, and 82, which were first published in the *Universal Chronicle* on 29 September, 20 October, and 10 November, 1759. They were combined into one article entitled "A letter on Painting, first published in the weekly paper called *The Idler*", which was printed in the *London*

Chronicle of 12-14 May, 1761 (ix, 460 *et seq.*). While the first collected edition of the *Idler* was being printed in 1761, the three letters were struck off separately with an alteration in the pagination and signatures and with the omission of the date and number of each letter. The resulting duodecimo of twenty pages consists of a single gathering, which lacks the last two leaves, one of which, probably, was folded so as to serve as the title-page, which reads: "Three / Letters / to / *The Idler*." The copy which Johnson presented to Reynolds and which Reynolds in turn presented to Malone is in the possession of Dr D. Nichol Smith, of Oxford. The only other copy of this which I have been able to discover is in the Yale University Library. It measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. and is endorsed in a contemporary hand: "By Sr Josuah Reynolds." For a discussion of these letters see *ante*, pp. 15 *et seq.*

2. *Notes to Johnson's edition of Shakespeare, 1765*

First published in volume viii (the Appendix) of the edition which appeared in 1765. *Ante*, pp. 27 *et seq.*

3. *The first discourse, 1769*

A / Discourse, / Delivered at the Opening / of the / Royal Academy, / January 2, 1769, / by the / President. / [*Long double rules*] / London: / Printed in the Year / [*Rule*] / MDCCLXIX.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 15; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Dedication *To the Members of the Royal Academy* (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1-15. The signatures are [A] to E (five half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Viscount "Newnham" (Nuneham Courtney).

Other copies. Yale Univ. Libr., F. W. Hilles.

A second state of this discourse differs only in the imprint: "London: / *Printed by W. Bunce, Printer, / and / Sold by

T. Davies, Bookseller,* / to the / Royal Academy." / [What appears between asterisks is bracketed together.]

Note. The only copy of this which I have been able to discover is in my possession. Few could have been printed. I believe that the first state was printed in January and distributed for the most part to members of the Academy. At the end of the month Davies was appointed bookseller, and the imprint must have been altered soon after. It was then discovered, presumably, that the date had been omitted from the corrected title-page.

A third state of this discourse is identical with the second, except that "MDCCLXIX" appears at the foot of the title-page.

Presentation copy. "Mrs. Moore" (Yale Univ. Libr.).

Another copy. Brit. Mus.

Notes. Sold for one shilling. Reviewed in *Gent. Mag.* for February, 1769 (xxxix, 98) and by John Hawkesworth in *Monthly Rev.* for April, 1769 (xl, 310). Noticed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1769 (viii, 364) and translated into German in the following year (*id.* ix, 195 *et seq.*). Translated into French by Louisa Henrietta Flint, whose version was printed "de l'Imprimerie de Michel Lambert rue de Cordeliers au Collège de Burgogne" in 1769. Discussed *ante*, pp. 35 *et seq.* Cf. *ante*, p. 63.

4. *The second discourse, 1769*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 11, 1769,* / by the / President. / [*Long double rules*] / London: / Sold by Thomas Davies, Bookseller to the / Royal Academy. / MDCCLXIX.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 23; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price 1s. 6d.]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1-23. The signatures are [A] to G (seven half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Mrs Montagu (F. W. Hilles), Viscount

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOSHUA'S WRITINGS 281
Nuneham (Nuneham Courtney), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918).

Other copies. Yale Univ. Libr., N.Y. Pub. Libr., F. W. Hilles (autographed by Robert Surtees, 1 June, 1770).

Notes. Printed by William Griffin, who had succeeded William Bunce as printer to the Academy. Reviewed in *Gent. Mag.* for March, 1770 (xl, 129) and by John Hawkesworth in *Monthly Rev.* for April, 1770 (xlii, 317 *et seq.*). Reviewed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1770 (x, 362) and translated into German three years later (*id.* xiv, 193 *et seq.*). Discussed *ante*, pp. 39 *et seq.*

5. *The third discourse, 1771*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 14, 1770, / by the / President.* / [*Long double rules*] / London: / Printed for Thomas Davies, Bookseller to the / Royal Academy. / MDCCLXXI.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 20; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price 1s. 6d.]"] (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1-20. The signatures are [A] to F (six half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Mary Moser (Yale Univ. Libr.), Viscount Nuneham (Nuneham Courtney), Garrick (sold with his library, 1 May, 1823).

Another copy. F. W. Hilles.

Notes. Printed by William Griffin. Reviewed in *Gent. Mag.* for July, 1771 (xli, 321) [an "accident having prevented this work from coming before us in due time"] and by Langhorne in *Monthly Rev.* for May, 1771 (xliv, 373 *et seq.*). Reviewed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1771 (xii, 330) and translated into German three years later (*id.* xvi, 5 *et seq.*).

6. *The fourth discourse, 1772*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 10, 1771.* / by the / President. / [*Long double rules*] / London: / Printed for Thomas Davies, Bookseller to the / Royal Academy. / M DCC LXXII.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 1 l. + pp. 29; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1-29. The signatures are B to H (seven half-sheets, each two leaves), preceded by an unsigned leaf carrying the title-page, and followed by an unsigned leaf carrying p. 29 (together forming a half-sheet.)

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Viscount Nuneham (Nuneham Courtney), Jerningham (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918), Garrick (sold with his library, 1 May, 1823).

Other copies. Yale Univ. Libr., F. W. Hilles (two, one of which is autographed by G. Montagu).

Notes. Printed by Wm. Griffin and sold for two shillings. Reviewed in *Gent. Mag.* for April, 1772 (xlii, 182) and by James Stuart in *Monthly Rev.* for May, 1772 (xlvi, 474 *et seq.*), who remarks that "the Author has happily united to the improved taste of an artist, the enlargement of mind and the penetration of a philosopher". Translated into German in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1775 (xvii, 5 *et seq.*).

7. *The fifth discourse, 1773*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 10, 1772.* / by the / President. / [*Long triple rules*] / London: / *Printed by W. Griffin, Printer / and / Sold by T. Davies, Bookseller* to the Royal Academy. / M DCC LXXIII. [What appears between asterisks is bracketed together.]

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 27; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price Two Shillings.]]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf;

Text of the discourse, pp. 1-27. The signatures are [A] to H (eight half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Joseph Banks, George Barrett (Brit. Mus.), Joseph Nollekens (Yale Univ. Libr.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Viscount Nuneham (Nuneham Courtney), Nicholas Palmer [Sir Joshua's brother-in-law] (Folger Libr.), Lord Chesterfield, Caleb Whitefoord (James Tregaskis & Son), Topham Beauclerk (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918), George Keate (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.),—"from the Author" (N.Y. Pub. Libr.).

Another copy. F. W. Hilles.

Note. Another edition of this discourse presents a bibliographical problem. The only copy which I have been able to discover is in my possession. Unlike the edition described above, this is well printed. The correct date appears at the foot of the title-page; *stoop* (rather than *sloop*) appears on p. 7; the first word on p. 17 (omitted in the other edition) is *who*; *Draperies* (rather than *Drapery's*) appears on p. 23; *likelihood* (rather than *likelyhood*) appears on p. 25. The one is a page-for-page reprint of the other, and in spite of the generalization that the more carelessly printed of two editions is the reprint, in this case it is almost certainly otherwise. Many of the errors in the poorly printed edition are the sort which would result from copying a manuscript, and it is to be noted that it was the poorly printed edition which Sir Joshua gave to his friends—friends who normally received their copies as soon as the discourse was first published. My belief in the priority of the "bad" edition is shared by my colleague, Dr A. T. Hazen, who kindly examined the two editions at my request.

Additional Notes. Reviewed in *Gent. Mag.* for February, 1773 (xliii, 82 *et seq.*) and by Langhorne in *Monthly Rev.* for June, 1773 (xlviii, 453 *et seq.*). Reviewed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1773 (xv, 360) and translated into German two years later (*id.* xvii, 191 *et seq.*). Sir Joshua presented copies of this discourse to Beattie (Marg. Forbes's *Beattie and his Friends*, Westminster, 1904, 80) and to Garrick (sold with his library, 1 May, 1823).

8. *The sixth discourse*, 1775

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *Dec.* the 10th, 1774. / by the / President. / [*Long double rules*] / London: / Printed for Thomas Davies, Bookseller to the / Royal Academy. / MDCCLXXV.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 1 l. + pp. 36: consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1–36. The signatures are B to K (nine half-sheets, each two leaves), preceded by a leaf carrying the title-page.

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Mrs Montagu (F. W. Hilles), Viscount Nuneham (Nuneham Courtney), Richard Stonehewer (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.), Thrale (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918), Garrick (sold with his library, 1 May, 1823).

Other copies. Brit. Mus., Yale Univ. Libr., Harvard Coll. Libr. (Lowell Collection), F. W. Hilles (2).

Notes. Printed by Wm. Griffin. I have seen no copy with a half-title. Published in January; one of Sir Joshua's nephews wrote on 27 January: "My Uncle sends a Discourse to Governor Hastings." (*Sir Joshua's Nephew*, 35.) Translated into German in *Neue Bibliothek* (xxi, 5 *et seq.*). Hannah More considered this discourse "a masterpiece for matter as well as style" (W. Roberts's *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More*, London, 1834, i, 58). For a similar statement made by her at a later date see E. and F. Anson's *Mary Hamilton*, London, 1925, 118.

9. *Character of Mrs Parker*, 1775–1776

Printed in *Pub. Advertiser*, 29 December, 1775; reprinted in part in *Morning Post*, 30 December; reprinted in revised form in *Gent. Mag.* for February, 1776 (xlvi, 75). The original text is given by Whitley (ii, 297), and the revised version by Northcote (ii, 15). Discussed *ante*, pp. 87 *et seq.*

10. *The seventh discourse, 1777*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 10, 1776.* / by the / President. / [*Long double rules*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Davies, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M DCC LXXVII.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 44; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price Three Shillings.]"'] (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1-44. The signatures are [A] to M (twelve half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Joseph Banks (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Viscount Nuneham (Nuneham Courtney), Mrs Montagu (F. W. Hilles), Mary Palmer (Folger Libr., Washington), Richard "Stonyer" (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918), Garrick (sold with his library, 1 May, 1823).

Another copy. Yale Univ. Libr.

Notes. Davies had succeeded Griffin as printer to the Academy in June, 1775. Noticed in *Gent. Mag.* for March, 1777 (xlvi, 137) and reviewed by John Langhorne in *Monthly Rev.* for June (lvi, 429 *et seq.*). Translated into German in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1779 and 1780 (xxiii, 195 *et seq.*; xxiv, 1 *et seq.*).

11. *The Octavo Edition of the Discourses, 1778*

Seven / Discourses / Delivered in the / Royal Academy / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / Omnia fere quæ præceptis continentur, ab ingeniosis / hominibus fiunt: sed casu quodam magis, quàm Sci- / entiâ. Ideoque doctrina & animadversio adhibenda / est, ut ea quæ interdum sine ratione nobis occurrunt, / semper in nostra potestate sint; & quoties res postula- / verit, a nobis ex præparato adhibeantur. / Aquila Roman. *de Fig. Sententiar.* / apud Junium. / [*Long double rule*] / London: / Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, Bookseller / and Printer to the Royal Academy. / M DCC LXXVIII.

Collation. Octavo, 2 ll. + pp. iv + 326 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title ["Seven / Discourses / Delivered in the / Royal Academy / by the / President."] (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Dedication to the King, pp. [i]–[iv]; The Discourses, pp. [1]–326 (each discourse preceded by fly-title with blank reverse); bookseller's advertisements on last leaf. Except for the Dedication, there are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catchwords throughout. The signatures are B to X (twenty sheets, each eight leaves), Y (a half-sheet, four leaves), preceded by an unsigned half-sheet (four leaves) which carries the half-title, title-page, and Dedication to the King.

Presentation copies. Countess de Genlis (Bibliothèque Nationale), Theophila Palmer (Roger Inghen), second Earl Harcourt (Nuneham Courtney), "Mr. Verteegh" [probably Dirk Versteegh of Amsterdam, collector of drawings by old masters] (Wilmarth Lewis), Garrick (sold with his library, 1 May, 1823), —["From the Author"] (F. W. Hilles).

Other copies. In principal libraries of Great Britain and America. Queeney Thrale's, inscribed by her: "H. M. Keith 1816," is in the possession of Dr L. F. Powell.

Notes (for most of which I am indebted to my colleague, Dr A. T. Hazen). Advertised as six shillings in *Lond. Chron.*, but as five shillings sewed (sometimes five shillings in boards) in other newspapers and magazines. The Dedication to the King was probably written by Johnson on 18 April, 1778 [*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, i, 83], and the book was published a month later. Advertised in *Pub. Advertiser* and *St James's Chron.* of 19 May. Listed in *Lond. Mag.* for May. Advertised in *Lond. Chron.* of 9–11 July as published "during the last Winter". Reviewed by John Langhorne in *Monthly Rev.* for September (lix, 232) and in *Gent. Mag.* for December (xlviii, 592). Discussed *ante*, pp. 46 *et seq.*

12. *The Florentine Edition of the Discourses*, 1778

Delle Arti del Disegno / Discorsi / del Cav. / Giosuè Reynolds /
 Presidente della R. Accad. / di Londra Ec. / Trasportati dal-
 l'Inglese / nel Toscano idioma / [*Two rules*] / In Firenze / [*Long rule*]
 / MDCCLXXVIII.

Collation. Duodecimo by cutting, front. + pp. xiv + 240; consisting of: Florentine self-portrait of Sir Joshua, frontispiece; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), p. [i]; Editor's preface, pp. iii-xi; three blank pages, pp. [xii]-[xiv]; Dedication to the Royal Academicians, pp. 1-2; Text of the Discourses, pp. 3-240. There are no headlines; the pages are numbered in arabic numerals, and there are catchwords throughout. The signatures are A to K (ten sheets, each twelve leaves), preceded by two conjugate leaves carrying the frontispiece and title-page (both of which are engraved) and a half-sheet (six leaves), carrying pp. iii to [xiv].

Copies. Common in Italian libraries; rare elsewhere. British Museum, Bodleian, Bibliothèque Nationale, Dr L. F. Powell, F. W. Hilles [autographed by M(ary) Musgrave in 1791].

Notes. Reviewed in *Novelle Letterarie* (no. 36) in 1778 and in *Efemeridi Letterarie di Roma* (viii, 82 *et seq.*) in 1779. Noticed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1780 (xxiv, 153). Discussed *ante*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

13. *The eighth discourse*, 1779

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December* 10, 1778. / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M DCC LXXIX.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 38 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price Three Shillings.]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. 1-38; publisher's advertisement (with blank reverse), on last leaf. The signatures are [A] to L (eleven half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Joseph Banks (Brit.

Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Joseph Nollekens (Yale Univ. Libr.), Mrs Vesey (F. W. Hilles), the "Rev^d Mr Emily" (Bodleian), "Mr J Palmer" [either John or Joseph, nephews of Sir Joshua] (Folger Libr., Washington), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918), Sir Robt. Chambers (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.).

Other copies. Harvard Coll. Libr. (Lowell Collection), F. W. Hilles (3).

Notes. Reviewed in *Monthly Rev.* for July, 1779 (lxi, 17 *et seq.*) by John Gillies, who severely criticizes the author's diction and his disregard for an orderly presentation of his material. Reviewed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1780 (xxiv, 184).

14. *The ninth and tenth discourses, 1781*

A / Discourse, / Delivered at the / Opening / of the / Royal Academy, / October 16, 1780, / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M. DCC. LXXXI.

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 11*, 1780. / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M. DCC. LXXXI.

Collation. Quarto, 2 ll. + pp. 32; consisting of: Half-title ["Two / Discourses, &c. / [Price Three Shillings.]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page of ninth discourse, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of ninth discourse, pp. [1]–6; Title-page of tenth discourse, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [7]–[8]; Text of tenth discourse, pp. [9]–32. The signatures are B to E (four sheets, each four leaves), preceded by an unsigned half-sheet (two leaves), carrying the half-title and first title-page.

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Sir Joseph Banks (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Joseph Nollekens (Yale Univ. Libr.), Beattie, Mrs "Montague" (F. W. Hilles), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918), Richard Stonehewer (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.).

15. *The German Edition of the Discourses, 1781*

Josua Reynolds / Präsident der Königl. Malerakademie / zu London / Akademische Reden / über / das Studium der Malerey, / zur / Bildung junger Künstler / und zur / richtigen Beurtheilung der besten Werke / der Kunst. / [*Rule*] / Nach der letzten Originalausgabe aus dem / Englischen übersetzt. / [*Woodcut by Friedrich*] / Dresden, / in der Hilscherischen Buchhandlung, 1781.

Collation. Octavo, pp. 332 + 2 ll.; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1]–[2]; Translator's Preface, pp. [3]–[7]; Dedication, p. [8]; Text of the first seven discourses, pp. 9–332; two blank leaves. The signatures are A to X (twenty-one sheets, each eight leaves).

Notes. The only copy which I have seen is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. For a discussion of the edition, see *ante*, p. 60.

16. *The eleventh discourse, 1783*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 10, 1782*, / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M.DCC.LXXXIII.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, pp. 28; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price Three Shillings.]" (with blank reverse), pp. [1]–[2] [in some copies this leaf is blank]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3]–[4]; Text of the discourse, pp. [5]–28. The signatures are [A] to G (eight half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Sir Joseph Banks (Brit. Mus.), Benj. West (Harvard Coll. Libr.), Joseph Nollekens (Yale Univ. Libr.), Joseph Wilton (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art. Assoc., 11 December, 1918).

Other copies. Brit. Mus., F. W. Hilles.

Notes. Reviewed by Samuel Rose in *Monthly Rev.* for February, 1783 (lxviii, 155 *et seq.*); noticed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1783 (xxix, 176) and translated into German two years later

(*id.* xxxi, 5 *et seq.*); reviewed in *Efemeridi Letterarie di Roma* in 1783 (xii, 384). Walpole's copy was annotated by him. He mentions receiving it and criticizes it in a letter to Mason, dated 10 February, 1783 (*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, xii, 403). Erskine's letter of thanks to the author, dated 26 Jan., 1783, is printed in Cotton's *Notes*, pp. 69 *et seq.* A half-title, inscribed "Dr. Johnson from the Author", is pasted in the front of a bound volume of the fifteen discourses in the Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.

17. *Testimonial to Moser*, 1783

Malone (*Works*, i, xlv) reprints this from Sir Joshua's own copy, and remarks that it was "probably" published in some newspaper of the day. It appeared in *Pub. Advertiser* of 30 January, 1783. *Ante*, p. 86.

18. *Notes to The Art of Painting*, 1783

The / Art of Painting / of / Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy. / Translated into English Verse / by / William Mason, M.A. / With Annotations / by / Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt. / President of the Royal Academy. / [*Long double rules*] / York: / Printed by A. Ward, and sold by J. Dodsley, Pall-Mall; T. Cadell, in / the Strand; R. Faulder, New Bond-street, London; and J. Todd, York. / M.DCC.LXXXIII.

Collation. Quarto, pp. xxii + 213 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title ["Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy's / Art of Painting / Translated into English Verse."] (with blank reverse), pp. [i]–[ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii]–[iv]; Epistle to Sir Joshua Reynolds, pp. [v]–viii; Preface, pp. [ix]–xiv; The Life of Mons. du Fresnoy, pp. [xv]–xix; blank page. p. [xx]; Fly-title (with blank reverse), pp. [xxi]–[xxii]; Text of *The Art of Painting*, pp. [1]–64; Fly-title (with note by Mason on reverse), pp. [65]–[66]; Notes on *The Art of Painting*, pp. [67]–121; Note by Mason, p. [122]; Table of the Rules, pp. [123]–125; blank page, p. [126]; Appendix, pp. [127]–213; Errata, p. [214]; Advertisement of books by Mason (with blank reverse), on last leaf. There are headlines throughout, except for the text

of the poem itself, where the pages are centrally numbered in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catchwords throughout, except for the text of the poem. The corresponding part of the Latin original is placed at the foot of each page of the text. The signatures are a to b (two sheets, each four leaves), c (three leaves), A to D d (twenty-seven sheets, each four leaves).

Presentation copy. Mrs Vesey (F. W. Hilles).

Notes. Sold for eight shillings in boards. Advertised in *Lond. Chron.* of 13-15 February, 1783. Reviewed by Edmund Cartwright in *Monthly Rev.* for June, 1783 (lxviii, 470 *et seq.*) and in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1783 (xxix, 167 *et seq.*). Discussed *ante*, pp. 81 *et seq.*

19. *Pirated edition of The Art of Painting, 1783*

The / Art of Painting / of / Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy. / Translated into / English Verse / by / William Mason, M.A. / with / Annotations / by / Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt. / President of the Royal Academy. / Dublin: / Printed for Messrs. White-stone, Wilson, / Moncrieffe, Walker, Jenkin, White, / Byrne, and Cash. / M,DCC,LXXXIII.

Collation. Octavo, pp. xxiv + 221 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title ["Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy's / Art of Painting / Translated into / English Verse."] (with blank reverse), pp. [i]-[ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii]-[iv]; Epistle to Sir Joshua Reynolds, pp. [v]-viii; Preface, pp. [ix]-xiv; The Life of Mons. du Fresnoy, pp. [xv]-xxi; blank page, p. [xxii]; Fly-title (with blank reverse), pp. [xxiii]-[xxiv]; Text of *The Art of Painting*, pp. [1]-64; Fly-title (with note by Mason on reverse), pp. [65]-[66]; Notes on *The Art of Painting*, pp. [67]-110; Note by Mason, p. [111]; Table of the Rules, pp. [112]-[115]; blank page, p. [116]; Appendix, pp. [117]-221; blank pages, pp. [222]-[224]; As in the first edition, there are headlines and catchwords throughout, except for the text of the poem, where the pages are numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. As in the first edition, the corresponding part of the Latin original is placed at the foot of each page of the

text. The errata noted in the first edition have been corrected. The signatures are [A] (a half-sheet, four leaves, carrying the title-pages and the epistle to Reynolds), B to O (thirteen sheets, each eight leaves), P to S (four half-sheets, each four leaves).

Note. Apparently rare. The only copy I have seen is that in my possession. Mentioned in Robert Davies's *Memoir of the York Press*, Westminster, 1868, 294.

20. *The twelfth discourse, 1785*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 10, 1784.* / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M.DCC.LXXXV.

Collation. Quarto, 2 ll. + pp. 32; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price Three Shillings.]]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. [1]–32. The signatures are B to E (four sheets, each four leaves), preceded by an unsigned half-sheet (two leaves), carrying the title-pages.

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Sir Joseph Banks (Brit. Mus.),—"From the Author" (Yale Univ. Libr., F. W. Hilles).

Other copies. Princeton Univ. Libr., F. W. Hilles, N.Y. Pub. Libr. (*cf. ante*, p. 94 n. 2).

Note. For Horace Walpole's comment on this discourse see *ante*, p. 137.

21. *The thirteenth discourse, 1787*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, *December 11, 1786,* / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M.DCC.LXXXVI.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 30 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [Price Three Shillings.]]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. [1]–30; a blank leaf, pp. [31]–

[32]. The signatures are [A] to I (nine half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Sir Joseph Banks, John Wilkes (Brit. Mus.), James Boswell (R. B. Adam), Mrs Montagu (F. W. Hilles),—"From the Author" (Yale Univ. Libr., Harvard Coll. Libr., F. W. Hilles).

Notes. Reviewed by John Rotheram in *Monthly Rev.* for September, 1787 (lxxvii, 203 *et seq.*). Translated into German in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1787 (xxxv, 1 *et seq.*) and criticized shortly after (*id.* xxxvi, 177 *et seq.*). Although the date 1786 appears on the title-page, the discourse was not published until the first week of the new year (*ante*, p. 143). The title-page and half-title of the copy Sir Joshua used for his final revisions are in the Folger Library, Washington.

22. *The French Edition of the Discourses, 1787*

Discours / prononcés / a l'Académie Royale / de / Peinture de Londres, / Par M. Josuè Reynolds, / Président de la dite Académie. / Suivis des Notes du même Auteur, sur le / Poëme de l'Art de Peindre, de Dufresnoy. / Le tout traduit de l'Anglois. / tome premier (second). / [Long rule] / Omnia fere quæ præceptis continentur, ab / ingeniosis hominibus fiunt: sed casu quodam / magis, quam Scientiâ. Ideoque doctrina & / animadversio adhibenda est, ut ea quæ inter- / dum sine ratione nobis occurrunt, semper in / nostra potestate sint; & quoties res postulaverit, / à nobis ex preparato adhibeantur. / Aquila Roman. de Fig. Sententiar. / apud Junium. / [Long rule] / [Printer's device] / A Paris, / Chez Moutard, Imprimeur-Libraire de / la Reine, rue des Mathurins. / [Heavy double rules] / 1787.

Collation of volume one. Octavo, pp. xii + 407; consisting of: Half-title ["Discours / prononcés / a l'Académie Royale / de / Peinture de Londres."] (with blank reverse), pp. [i]–[ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii]–[iv]; Translator's preface, pp. [v]–x; Dedication, pp. xi–xii; Text of the first eight discourses, pp. [1]–407. Except for the preface, there are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. There are no catchwords.

Prefixed to each discourse is a fly-title with blank reverse. Printer's devices appear at the top of the first page of the preface and the first page of each discourse. The signatures are A to B b (twenty-five sheets, each eight leaves), C c (a half-sheet, four leaves), preceded by six leaves of preliminary matter.

Collation of volume two. Octavo, 2 ll. + pp. 395 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title [as in volume one] (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page (with blank reverse), as above (except that a period is substituted for the comma after *Londres*), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth discourses, pp. [1]–208; *L'Art de Peindre*, pp. [209]–271; blank page, p. [272]; Notes de M. Reynolds, pp. [273]–390; Table des Articles, pp. 391–394; Errata, p. 395; Approbation, pp. 395–[396]; Privilege du Roi, pp. [396]–[398]. The format is identical with that of the first volume. The translator has given only a résumé of *L'Art de Peindre*, including Mason's notes as footnotes to the résumé. The signatures are A to A a (twenty-four sheets, each eight leaves), B b (seven leaves), preceded by two preliminary leaves.

Notes. According to Paul Ortlepp (*Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Strassburg, 1906, ix), another issue of this edition differs only in the date of publication (1788 instead of 1787). I have seen no copy of this. In fact the edition is relatively rare. The only copies I have seen are the one in my possession, one in the Yale University Library, and that owned by Marie Antoinette, which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Several copies have been sold at auction in Paris during the past twenty years. For a discussion of the edition, see *ante*, pp. 61 *et seq.*

23. *The Venetian Edition of the Discourses*, 1787

Delle Arti / del Disegno / Discorsi / *del Cav.* / Giosuè Reynolds /
Presidente della R. Accad. / di Londra ec. / *Trasportati dal-
l'Inglese nel / Toscano idioma.* / [Printer's device] / *Bassano* / [Wavy
rule] / MDCCLXXXVII.

Collation. Octavo, front. + pp. 243; consisting of: the Florentine self-portrait of Sir Joshua, frontispiece; Title-page, as above

(with blank reverse), pp. [1]–[2]; Editor's preface, pp. [3]–[10]; Dedication, pp. [11]–[12]; Text of the first seven discourses, pp. 13–242; Permission to print, p. 243. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered in arabic numerals on the top of the outer margin. There are no fly-titles; there are catchwords throughout. The signatures are A to O (fourteen sheets, each eight leaves), followed by P (ten leaves). Signature P was a sheet containing pp. 225–232 and 237–242. Placed in the centre are two leaves (pp. 233–236) with the signature P 5 on p. 233.

Notes. The Permission of the Riformatori of Padua is dated 8 February, 1786, and includes the information that the book was printed by Giuseppe Remondini at Venice. It is merely a reprint of the Florentine edition. There are copies of this in most public libraries in Italy, but the only copy outside Italy of which I have any record is the one in my possession.

24. *The fourteenth discourse, 1789*

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, Dec. 10th, 1788, / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M.DCC.LXXXIX.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 26 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [*Rule*] / [*Price* Three Shillings.]" (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. [1]–26; blank leaf, pp. [27]–[28]. The signatures are [A] to H (eight half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, Sir Joseph Banks, John Wilkes (Brit. Mus.), James Boswell (R. B. Adam), Mrs Montagu (F. W. Hilles), Macklin (S. C. Roberts), Joseph Nollekens (Yale Univ. Libr.), Thomas Banks (Bodleian), Benj. West (N.Y. Pub. Libr.), Caleb Whitefoord (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918).

Notes. For some reason the printing of this discourse was

delayed until June (*ante*, p. 144). Reviewed in *Neue Bibliothek* in 1791 (xli, 284).

25. *The fifteenth discourse*, 1791

A / Discourse, / Delivered to the / Students / of the / Royal Academy, / on the / Distribution of the Prizes, Dec. 10, 1790. / by the / President. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed by Thomas Cadell, Printer to the / Royal Academy. / M.DCC.XCI.

Collation. Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 2 ll. + pp. 31; consisting of: Half-title ["A / Discourse, &c. / [*Rule*] / [*Price Three Shillings.*]] (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Text of the discourse, pp. [1]–31. The signatures are [A] to I (nine half-sheets, each two leaves).

Presentation copies. F. M. Newton, John Wilkes (Brit. Mus.), James Boswell (R. B. Adam), Mrs Montagu (F. W. Hilles), Joseph Nollekens (Yale Univ. Libr.), Thomas Banks (Bodleian), Lord "Spenser" (John Rylands Libr.), John Cator (recently sold by Brick Row Book Shop, N.Y.), "Mr. Wheatly" (advertised in cat. 27, issued in 1930 by Birrell & Garnett, Ltd.), Horace Walpole (sold Amer. Art Assoc., 11 December, 1918).

Notes. The Bishop of London's letter of thanks for his copy, dated 7 March, 1791, first printed in Cotton's *Notes*, p. 70. Early in March copies were distributed in Ireland. On 12 March Boswell wrote to Malone: "I sent you one of Sir Joshua's *Discourses* for yourself singly, and next day four for Lord Charlemont, Lord Sunderlin, and the Jephsons. These all under cover of Mr. Lees. Four I sent under cover of the Provost for the Archbishop of Tuam, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishops of Killaloe and Dromore. Sir Joshua had sent one to the Provost himself." (*Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Oxford, 1924, 429.) For a discussion of this discourse, see *ante*, pp. 177 *et seq.*

26. *Letter concerning Milton's Portrait*, 1791

Published in *Gent. Mag.*, July, 1791 (lxi, 603 *et seq.*) with the title: "The Originality of *Milton's Portrait* ascertained." The letter, dated 15 June, is signed "R.J." and is a reply to an anony-

mous letter by Lord Hailes (*id.* 399 *et seq.*), who asserted that Cooper's miniature of Milton in Sir Joshua's possession was not genuine. Lord Hailes answered Sir Joshua's letter (*id.* 885 *et seq.*) but evoked no further response. The authorship of Sir Joshua's letter was acknowledged by the editor in a later number (*id.* lxii, 1154).

27. *First collected Edition, 1797*

The / Works / of / Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt. / Late President of the Royal Academy: / containing / his Discourses, Idlers, / A Journey to Flanders and Holland, (now first published,) / and his commentary on du Fresnoy's Art of Painting; / printed from his revised copies, / (with his last corrections and additions,) / in two volumes. / to which is prefixed / an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, / by Edmond Malone, Esq. / one of his executors. / —quasi non ea præcipiam aliis, quæ mihi ipsi desunt. Cicero. / [*Rule*] / volume the first [second]. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, in the Strand. / M DCC XCVII.

Collation of volume one. Quarto, front. + 2 ll. + pp. xc + 362; consisting of: Half-title ["The / Works / of / Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt. / Late President of the Royal Academy. / In two volumes."] (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Sir Joshua's last self-portrait, engraved by Caroline Watson, frontispiece; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Dedication to the King, pp. [i]–ii; Malone's *memoir*, pp. iii–lxxi; blank page, p. [lxxii]; additional note, pp. lxxiii–lxxvi; Supplement (printed in 1798 and not found in all copies) containing the principal additions in the second edition, pp. [lxxvii]–lxxxiv; Contents of the first volume, pp. [lxxxv]–[lxxxix]; Errata, p. [xc]; Text of the fifteen discourses, pp. [1]–346; Three Letters to *The Idler*, pp. [347]–362. There are headlines and catchwords throughout, the pages being numbered with arabic numerals placed at the top of each outer margin. There are fly-titles (with blank reverses) for each discourse and one for the *Idlers*. The signatures are a to i (nine sheets, each four leaves); *i (a half-sheet, two leaves, carrying the additional note); *k (one sheet, four leaves, carrying the supplement); k (three

leaves, carrying the Contents and Errata); B to Y y (forty-four sheets, each four leaves); an unsigned leaf, carrying pp. 361–362, which was the fourth leaf of signature k; the whole preceded by a half-sheet (two leaves), carrying the Half-title and Title-page. Through an error of the typesetter, pp. 329–336 have been omitted in the pagination, although none of the text has been omitted.

Collation of volume two. Quarto, 2 ll. + pp. 391; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Contents (with Errata on reverse), on second preliminary leaf; *A Journey to Flanders*, etc., pp. [1]–124; *The Art of Painting*, pp. [125]–207; blank page, p. [208]; Notes on *The Art of Painting*, pp. [209]–274; blank page, p. [275]; Note by Mason, p. [276]; A Table of the Rules, pp. [277]–[280]; Appendix, pp. [281]–[377]; blank page, p. [378]; Index, pp. [379]–[391]. The format is identical with that of the first volume. The signatures are B to 3D (forty-nine sheets, each four leaves), preceded by a half-sheet (two leaves, the second signed a), carrying the two preliminary leaves. The forty-sixth and forty-seventh gatherings are signed AA and BB, rather than 3A and 3B.

Notes. Malone sold the copyright to the publishers for £300 (Farington's *Diary*, iii, 85). For a discussion of this edition see *ante*, pp. 196 *et seq.*

28. *Second collected Edition*, 1798

The / Works / of / Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight; / Late President of the Royal Academy: / containing / His Discourses, Idlers, / A Journey to Flanders and Holland, / and his Commentary on du Fresnoy's Art of / Painting; / Printed from his revised Copies, / (with his last corrections and additions,) / in three volumes. / to which is prefixed / An Account of the Life and Writings of the / Author, / By Edmond Malone, Esq. / one of his Executors. / The second edition corrected. / —Quasi non ea præcipiam aliis, quæ mihi ipsi desunt. Cicero. / [*Rule*] / Volume the First [Second] [Third]. / [*Rule*] / London: / Printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, in the Strand. / 1798.

Collation of volume one. Octavo, front. + 2 ll. + pp. cxxviii + 288; consisting of: Half-title ["The / Works / of / Sir Joshua

Reynolds, Knight; / late President of the Royal Academy. / in three volumes." (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Sir Joshua's last self-portrait, engraved by Caroline Watson, frontispiece; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; Dedication to the King, pp. [i]-ii; Malone's *memoir*, pp. iii-cxxiv; Contents of the first volume, pp. [cxcv]-[cxcvii]; blank page, p. [cxcviii]; Text of first eight discourses, pp. [1]-288 (the last page erroneously numbered 287). There are headlines throughout, but there are no catchwords. There are fly-titles (with blank reverses) preceding each of the discourses. The signatures are a to h, B to T (twenty-six sheets, each eight leaves), the whole preceded by a quarter-sheet (the two preliminary leaves).

Collation of volume two. Octavo, 2 ll. + pp. 427; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Contents, on second preliminary leaf; Text of last seven discourses, pp. [1]-218; Three Letters to *The Idler*, pp. [219]-243; blank page, p. [244]; A Journey to Flanders, etc., pp. [245]-427. The format is identical with that of the first volume. The signatures are B to D d (twenty-six sheets, each eight leaves), E e (a half-sheet, four leaves), F f (a quarter-sheet, two leaves), the whole preceded by a quarter-sheet (the two preliminary leaves, the second signed a).

Collation of volume three. Octavo, 2 ll. + pp. 370; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on first preliminary leaf; Contents (with blank reverse), on second preliminary leaf; *The Art of Painting*, pp. [1]-92; Notes on *The Art of Painting*, pp. [93]-189; Note by Mason, p. [190]; A Table of the Rules, pp. [191]-194; Appendix, pp. [195]-337; blank page, p. [338]; General Index, pp. [339]-370. The format is identical with that of the first volume. The signatures are B to A a (twenty-three sheets, each eight leaves), B b (a leaf), the whole preceded by a quarter-sheet (the two preliminary leaves, the second signed a).

Notes. Preface is dated 10 February, 1798. Malone received £100 from the publishers on the publication of this edition (Farington's *Diary*, iii, 86). The most interesting association copy is that in the British Museum which was owned and annotated

by William Blake. His marginalia are published in Gosse's edition of the *Discourses* (London, 1884), Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* (London, 1863), and *The Writings of William Blake* (ed. Keynes, London, 1925, iii, 5 *et seq.*). This edition is far inferior to that of 1797 typographically, but I have used it for all references to *The Works* because it is to be found in almost all the principal libraries of Great Britain and America, and because it contains Malone's last additions and corrections.

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